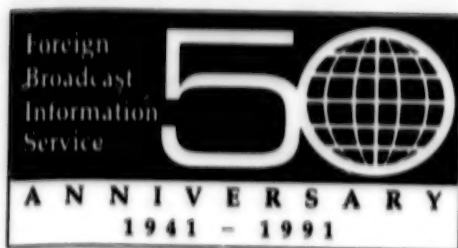


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JPRS Report

Soviet Union

Political Affairs

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Alternative Union Treaty Drafted

91UN1628A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 13 Apr 91 pp 4, 5

["Treaty on the Community of Sovereign States" accompanied by a footnote stating that it is a "draft" and a "paid notice"]

[Text] A month ago a draft new Union treaty presupposing the conversion of the USSR into a "renewed federation" was published in the press. At the Third (Special) Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies a joint faction of the Republican and Social Democratic Parties submitted, by way of legislative initiative, an alternative draft treaty on a community of sovereign states. This document was drawn up by experts of the "Democratic Congress"—a broad association of democratic parties and movements of 10 Union republics, among which are "Democratic Russia," "Rukh," "Sajudis," the Belorussian People's Front, the "Birlik" popular movement of Uzbekistan and others. On 21-22 April the draft Treaty on the Community of Sovereign States will be the subject of discussion at an interparliamentary conference of democratic factions of the republics' Supreme Soviets.

Vladimir Lysenko,
Faction Coordinator and RSFSR People's Deputy.

The states subscribing to this treaty, expressing the wishes of their peoples, taking as a basis their declarations of state sovereignty, believing that equal and mutually profitable cooperation among them corresponds to the interests of their citizens and assurance of their rights and liberties, peace and the peoples' security and confirming their allegiance to the aims and principles expressed in the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, the Paris Charter and other documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, form the Community of Sovereign States (henceforth the Community) on the following basis.

I. General Principles

First. Each state subscribing to this treaty preserves upon joining the Community its state sovereignty, the plenitude of power on its territory and responsibility for its domestic and foreign policy.

Second. The Community is a voluntary union (confederal association) of independent sovereign states, which confer regularly among themselves and cooperate on a permanent basis in the interests of their peoples and a strengthening of international peace and security.

The Community represents a form of interstate cooperation and is neither a state nor suprastate formation.

Third. The legal basis of the Community are this treaty and the generally recognized rules of international law.

Fourth. The fundamental principles of the Community are:

- the right of nations and peoples to self-determination;
- the voluntary nature of joining the Community and departure from it;
- mutual recognition by the members of their sovereignty and international subjectivity;
- unswerving observance by each member of human rights and those of national minorities and peoples recognized by the world community;
- the possibility of the participation of different states in the Community at varying levels;
- the independence of each member in determining the forms of participation in the Community on the terms of this treaty.

Fifth. the Community is intended to contribute to the members' cooperation in the solution of problems which are of common interest to them and to assist each member—at its request—in the solution of its own problems.

II. Arrangement of the Community

Article 1. Membership in the Community

Membership in the Community is exclusively voluntary.

The members of the Community are the states which have signed and ratified this treaty.

All members of the Community have equal rights and equal obligations.

The Community is open for membership therein of other sovereign states (unitary and federal) sharing the principles and purposes of the Community and agreeing to assume the commitments determined by this treaty.

The decision on admitting new members to the Community is adopted with the consent of all subscribers to the treaty on the basis of the corresponding state's declaration of a desire to join the Community.

A member has the right to withdraw from the Community at any time, having notified the other subscribers to the treaty of this a year prior to withdrawal.

Article 2. Citizenship

Each member of the Community has its own citizenship.

A citizen of a member of the Community enjoys on the territory of the other subscribers to the treaty the economic, social and cultural, and also civil and political rights mutually agreed among them.

Article 3. Territory

Each member of the Community has its own territory.

The states which are a part of the Community recognize the borders which exist between them at the moment they sign the treaty.

The borders between members may be altered only by an agreement between them reached through negotiations without the use of force and without threats of its use.

Article 4. State Sovereignty of a Member of the Community

Each member of the Community preserves its state sovereignty, which means:

- recognition of the wishes of the people of each member of the Community as the sole source of state power;
- the plenitude and supremacy of the state power and laws of each member of the Community on its territory;
- the unimpeded realization of state power and the exercise of control thereof on one's own territory;
- independence in foreign policy relations and full international subjectivity;
- the right to determine and realize the forms and methods of defense of one's territory and one's constitutional state system;
- the right to establish on one's territory an official language (official languages) and to provide for the preservation and unrestricted development of the languages and culture of all ethnic groups inhabiting this state;
- assurance of the rights and liberties of its citizens and observance of the rights and liberties of other persons permanently and temporarily resident on its territory accepted in international law and recognized by the given member;
- the right to grant political asylum in accordance with the laws of the given member.

Article 5. Relations Between Members of the Community

Relations between members of the Community are regulated by this treaty and other treaties and agreements not in conflict with it.

The members of the Community build their mutual relations on the basis of:

- their equal rights and duties in the Community;
- respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each member of the Community;
- noninterference in one another's internal affairs;
- regulation of contentious issues exclusively by peaceful means;
- the mutual profitability of cooperation;

—mutual assistance and help for one another in the fight against epidemics and in the elimination of the consequences of earthquakes and other catastrophes;

—the conscientious fulfillment of mutual contracted commitments.

Article 6. International Subjectivity of a Member of the Community

Membership in the Community and relations between its members do not limit the sovereign right of each member to be an equal subject of international relations and to act as a full member of the international community.

The members of the Community are fully authorized to establish direct diplomatic, consular, trade, and other relations with other states, exchange authorized representatives with them, conclude international treaties and participate directly in the activity of international organizations.

Article 7. Spheres of Cooperation on a Permanent Basis

Pertaining to the priority spheres of cooperation exercised by members of the Community on a permanent basis are:

- strategic defense and arms reduction;
- the formation and development of market relations in the Community and their integration in the world market;
- common systems of power supply, transport, and communications;
- the exploration and economic use of space;
- protection of the environment and the creation of an international system of ecological safety;
- a humanitarian policy aimed at a guarantee of human rights and those of national minorities and nations;
- the fight against organized and international crime.

For cooperation in the said spheres the members of the Community may create joint goal-oriented programs and bodies of the Community (temporary or permanent) necessary for the fulfillment of these programs.

Each member of the Community determines his participation in each joint program independently.

The cooperation of members of the Community in the sphere of strategic defense and arms reduction is regulated by a special agreement providing for the creation of a Community Strategic Armed Forces Joint Command and the subordination to this command of all the nuclear and missile weapons at the disposal of the members of the Community.

Article 8. Ownership

The members of the Community and the bodies which they create ensure the free development and protection of all forms of ownership not in conflict with internationally recognized human rights.

Each member of the Community is the full subject of all state ownership on its territory.

The procedure for the creation and functioning on the territory of a member of the Community of the objects of ownership of other states and their citizens and legal entities is determined by the legislation of the given member of the Community.

Article 9. Taxes and Dues

Each member of the Community independently establishes taxes and dues on its territory and determines its own budget.

Article 10. Laws

The constitution and laws of a member of the Community must not be contrary to the provisions of this treaty.

The laws only of a given state and its recognized rules of international law are valid on the territory of each member of the Community.

The laws of each member of the Community are not subject to revocation or arbitrary interpretation by organs of the Community.

III. Organs of the Community

Article 11. Formation and Functioning of Organs of the Community

The organs of the Community are: the Community Council, Economic Council, Council of Foreign Ministers, Defense Council, Community Court, Community Secretariat.

The procedure for the formation and functioning of organs of the Community is determined by the members on the basis of equal representation and the achievement of consensus on issues affecting their sovereignty.

Article 12. Community Council

The Community Council is a political coordinating body of the Community, in which all members are represented and which determines the strategy and fundamental forms of their interaction in all spheres indicated in Article 7. Representatives of the member state are appointed by its highest organ of power and constitute the delegation in the Community Council led by the head of state.

Sessions of the Council are convened no less than once a year by turns in the capitals of the members under the chairmanship of the state in which the session is held.

If necessary, a special or emergency session of the Community Council may be convened at the request of each member of the Community.

The delegation of each member has one vote. Decrees of the Council are adopted by consensus. The Council may adopt binding decisions only on questions of admitting new members and the members' fulfillment of programs of cooperation which they have approved and also an agreement specified in part three of Article 7.

A decree of the Council is communicated to the members for examination. Within 60 days of the signing of the minutes of a Council session a member informs the Council secretary of the results of examining the decree by the government or other competent bodies of the member state.

The member state implements Council decrees which it has approved in accordance with a decision of the government or other competent bodies of this state in accordance with its legislation.

Article 13. Economic Council

The members' coordination in the economic sphere is exercised by the Community Economic Council.

The Economic Council is the main economic organ of the Community called upon to promote the development of economic activity in all countries of the Community for the purpose of the speediest and stable rise in the living standard of their citizens.

The Economic Council is composed of one representative from each member state—the head of government or his deputy.

Sessions of the Economic Council are convened no less than four times a year by turns in the capitals of the members under the chairmanship of the head of government of the state in which the session is held.

A special or emergency session of the Economic Council is convened by the chairman of the previous regular session at the demand of no fewer than one-third of the members.

Economic Council decrees, adopted by way of consensus, are to be compulsorily examined by all members of the Community.

A decree of the Economic Council is examined by the government or other competent organs of the member state. Within no more than 45 days following the signing of the minutes of an Economic Council session the member state notifies the secretary of this Council of the results of examination of the corresponding decree.

The member state implements Economic Council decrees which it has approved in accordance with a decision of the government or other competent organs of this state in accordance with its legislation.

Article 14. Council of Foreign Ministers

The cooperation of the members in the foreign policy sphere is coordinated by the Council of Foreign Ministers.

The Council of Foreign Ministers is a political organ of the Community called upon to facilitate the cooperation of the members of the Community with third countries for the purpose of effectively assuring the security of the members of the Community and of preserving and strengthening democracy, peace, and a single world community.

This Council is composed of one representative per member—the foreign minister or his deputy.

Sessions of the Council of Foreign Ministers are convened no less than twice a year by turns in the capitals of the members under the chairmanship of the foreign minister of the state in which the session is held.

A special or emergency session of the Council of Foreign Ministers is convened by the chairman of the previous regular session at the demand of no fewer than one-fourth of the members.

Decrees of the Council of Foreign Ministers adopted by way of consensus are to be compulsorily examined by all members of the Community.

A decree of this Council is examined by the government or other competent organs of the member state. The results of the examination of the corresponding decree are communicated to the secretary of the Council of Foreign Ministers within no more than 60 days following the signing of the minutes of the Council session which adopted the decree.

Decrees of the Council of Foreign Ministers approved by the member state are implemented by it in accordance with a decision of the government and other competent bodies of this state in accordance with its legislation.

Article 15. Defense Council

The Defense Council is the main military organ of the Community exercising leadership of the Strategic Armed Forces Joint Command and also coordination of the members' cooperation in the sphere of defense policy and the organizational development and operations of their national armed forces.

The Defense Council is composed of one representative per member—the defense minister or his deputy.

The Defense Council is convened twice a year by turns in the capitals of the members under the chairmanship of the defense minister of the state in which the session is held. In the event of an attack on a member of the Community, the Defense Council becomes for the period of military operations a permanent body.

A special or emergency session of the Defense Council is convened by the chairman of the previous regular meeting at the request of any member.

Decrees of the Defense Council adopted by consensus in peacetime are to be compulsorily examined, and in wartime, executed, by all members.

Each member implements the Defense Council's decrees in the procedure provided for by this state's legislation.

A decree of the Defense Council is examined by the government or other competent organ of the member state. The results of the examination of the corresponding decree are communicated to the secretary of the Defense Council within no more than 45 days from the day the minutes of the meeting of the Council which adopted the decree were signed.

Article 16. Community Court

The Community Court is a judicial body examining on the initiative of plaintiffs disputes between the members and bodies of the Community and between legal entities and the members or bodies of the Community and also the citizens' complaints in connection with a violation of their constitutional rights by the members.

The members of the Community Court are elected on a competitive basis by the highest organs of power of the members (in an equal number from each of them) and retain their authority for life or until the departure of the corresponding member from the Community.

Article 17. Community Secretariat

The Community Secretariat is a permanent executive body facilitating the members' coordinated implementation of the decrees of the Community Council.

The Secretariat is composed of a general secretary and his deputies (one per member) and the personnel necessary for assurance of the normal functioning of the organs of the Community.

The personnel of the Secretariat is brought up to strength from citizens of the members of the Community in accordance with the Secretariat Regulations adopted and revised by the Community Council.

Article 18. General Secretary of the Community

The general secretary is the main administrative official of the Community. He represents the Community before officials and organizations of the members and other states and also before international organizations.

The general secretary is appointed by the general consent of all members by a special decision of the Community Council.

The general secretary conveys to the Community Council and the Defense Council any information concerning what, in his opinion, could constitute a threat to the security of the members of the Community.

The general secretary operates as such at all meetings of the Community Council, Economic Council, Council of Foreign Ministers, and Defense Council, exercising the functions which these organs entrust to him.

The general secretary presents to the Council an annual report on the activity of the organs of the Community.

Article 19. Conditions of the Activity of Officials of the Community

Officials of the Community enjoy on the territory of each of them, for exercise of their functions provided for by the treaty and agreements between the members, the immunities and privileges established by a special convention.

Article 20. Financing the activity of the organs of the Community

The members of the Community reimburse the expenditure of its organs on the realization of agreements and programs of the Community in amounts determined by the Community Council.

Expenditure on support for the participants in meetings of organs of the Community and also conferences which may be convened within the framework of the councils is entrusted to the state which sends its representatives to these meetings and conferences.

IV. Final Provisions

Article 21. Implementation of the Treaty

The treaty is subject to ratification and takes effect for the states which have ratified it from the time that they exchange instruments of ratification.

The treaty is ratified by the highest organ of state power of the corresponding state. As of the implementation of the treaty the USSR Constitution is terminated on the territory of the members of the Community if it has not been terminated there earlier.

Article 22. Term of the Treaty

This treaty is concluded for an indefinite term.

Article 23. Revisions of the Treaty

Each member has the right at any time to propose revisions to the treaty, which may be made given the general consent of all its subscribers.

Article 24. Revisions to and Termination of Subscription to the Treaty

A member has the right at any time to denounce any agreement on cooperation and to terminate his participation in any special program or withdraw from the Community, having notified of this all the other subscribers to the treaty a year in advance of the corresponding action.

Article 25. Appendix to the Treaty

This treaty has an appendix, which sets forth the procedures, mechanism and timeframe of realization of the articles of the treaty.

The list of appendices and the timeframe for their preparation and signing are agreed by the states subscribing to the treaty in a protocol which is a part of the treaty.

Procedure for the preparation, concordance, and conclusion of the Treaty on the Community of Sovereign States

1. All positions of the treaty are harmonized exclusively by the delegations of authorized representatives of the states appointed by their highest organs.

2. A conference with the participation of the delegations of authorized representatives of the states wishing to conclude the treaty is convened for agreement on the wording of the treaty. The work of the conference is organized in accordance with the one state, one vote principle.

The heads of the delegations preside at the conference in turn.

Decisions of the conference are adopted by consensus.

3. Provisions determining the singularities of the status of individual members are incorporated in the treaty.

4. The wording of the treaty harmonized at the conference is initialed by the delegation heads and handed over for ratification to the highest organs of state power of their states.

5. Simultaneously with the process of the preparation, agreement on, and conclusion of the treaty consultations and negotiations for the purpose of solving a whole set of problems of succession arising both within the framework of the Union of SSR and in the international sphere should begin.

The draft treaty was prepared by experts of the "Democratic Congress" and is submitted by way of legislative initiative to the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies by the Republican Party of the Russian Federation and the Social Democratic Party of Russia joint faction.

Yakovlev on Prospects for Humane Socialism

91UN1514A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 16 May 91 pp 2-3

[Interview with Academician Aleksandr Yakovlev, by unidentified correspondent: "The Struggle Exists for the Sake of Peace, But Not Peace for the Sake of the Struggle"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] Real socialism has not passed the test of time. People are even talking about its downfall. What do you think: is there a future for this idea?

[Yakovlev] It is an extremely complex and intricate problem, both on the theoretical and especially the practical plane. Moreover, I am sick and tired of scholastic disputes about definitions, for they detract from the problems of real life.

But since the question has been raised, I shall try to respond, or more accurately, to express my own point of view. I will begin with the question: But was that "real socialism" socialism? Without an honest answer to this question we shall remain mired in the past, in the labyrinth of scholasticism, prisoners of a distorted consciousness, the captives of ideology and not the facts; and, we shall deceive one another.

Of course, you can call whatever you want socialism; that is another matter. But is it honest?

I think we must speak about something else. That which suffered various forms of failure was not, of course, socialism.

Does this fact not impose a "death sentence" on the idea itself? I think not! The socialist idea at its inception was nothing other than an attempt to reinterpret the age-old common human ideals and values and the ways to realize them, to put them into practice in the context of the social formation of mankind, especially in the context of the industrial revolution, global industrialization, the new social structure of society and so on.

And one must acknowledge that much of this reinterpretation has entered into both the thought and the practical activity of the 20th Century: some under the influence of our experience, and some apart from or even in spite of us; but it did enter in.

But a lot was rejected by life. For example, Marx used to say that the revolution would take place simultaneously in several developed European capitalist countries. That did not come to pass. The revolution occurred in Russia, owing to a remarkable confluence of circumstances. Marx used to say that capitalism was a decaying society, which was naturally opposed to scientific-technical and social progress and all else. That was not so at all. Marx proposed a Utopia of non-commodity production. But life has shown that it is only on the basis of the law of value under conditions of competition that the socially-necessary expenditure of labor for the production of one commodity or another is determined. And not only that.

But that is not the main issue here. Life can set many things straight. The problem is a different one—a social experiment was conducted in Russia in an off-hand manner. An attempt was made to squeeze in a hastily-designed model of a new society in conditions clearly unsuitable for socialism. It was not for nothing that it was necessary to use the means of terror to forcibly

implant this new style of life; hence the growth of sectarianism and a monopoly on interpretation of the socialist idea.

In essence, the conclusion, the historical lesson is in my view obvious: the socialist idea belongs to all mankind, and not exclusively to some country, society, party or leader. There is no place here for a monopoly on ordering the path of progress, or for approval of its criteria and for determining whether it is or not. Everyone who shares its ideals and purposes contributes something of his own to their achievement. We have been trying to be monopolists and sectarianists, but life has severely punished us for that and is punishing us to this day.

To hear certain party ideologues of today, who are flourishing in the struggle with social changes, it would seem that the best society is the one that was, and which cannot be. Well, they are not to blame for that, if one sets aside personal morality for a moment. The fact that social science was turned into party ideology, which served the purposes of collective psychological mobilization in the struggle for power, led to this type of thinking.

Demagogic ideology is the religion of all totalitarian regimes. It does not tolerate dialectics, for it does not acknowledge any kind of dialogue; only monologue, diktat, the dictatorship of ideas, and scoffing at the free existence of man. Any idea, even an enlightened idea, if one is blinded by dogmatism, turns into an ideocracy; that is, to a dictatorship of ideas, to an inquisition, and the persecution of dissidence. Only freedom is dialectical. Only freedom recognizes dialogue and conversation. Incidentally, the word "parliament" itself signifies conversation. It acknowledges opposition, and needs it: that is, the permanent and mandatory freedom to say "No;" the freedom of thesis and antithesis, in order that one might come to an agreement.

The idea itself has a future. But in order to understand this, one must honestly look at oneself, and gain an understanding of all the reversals on our complex and tragic journey, and of our present condition. We must do this in a strictly scientific and morally irreproachable manner. No sworn oaths to the truth of certain principles of such a concept will change anything; they would only further discredit the socialist idea.

[Correspondent] The theory and the practice of socialism were found to be far removed from one another. And still, what in your view has the practical experience of building socialism in various countries in the world given to mankind? How has world experience enriched us?

[Yakovlev] First of all, the victory of socialist extremism, its Stalin-Trotsky version, which lives to this very day, has forced the ruling classes in the West—as well as the social-democratic, workers' movements, each of which in the past had taken a stand on positions of their own hard-headed sectarianism—to think seriously. The result

is well-known: much of the theory, ethics, specific proposals and demands which derive from the socialist idea have been put into effect there. And these very processes, and much more, the results, are in my view irreversible. I believe that the experience of world development as a whole benefits from this.

Furthermore, I believe it significant that the practice of socialism has—alas, through tragic experience—led us to an understanding of the role and significance of moral and ethical principles in public life. Experience has thoroughly demonstrated that theory, and indifference toward the moral questions and practice which discards them as inconvenient remnants of character faults, in the final analysis not only turns against mankind in a scandalous manner, but also destroys from within the social structure which supposedly had been constructed from the best of motives. Historically, no practice and no social structure which does not in fact serve mankind is viable, no matter what they call themselves, no matter what motives and theories guide them.

But what discredited the practice of socialism more than anything else, was force and violence, which has been acknowledged as the "midwife" of history. It flowed from a rather straightforward portrayal of the process of struggle of contradictions as predominantly antagonistic.

There is not a single one of Marx's works in which the category of contradiction and the law of the contradictory nature of things, processes and phenomena was not portrayed. But, unfortunately, he understood every contradiction as antagonism to one degree or another. Specifically, he also coined the term, "antagonistic contradiction" (in the second draft of *Das Kapital*). This signifies a raging conflict, which requires its own surgical solution.

Hegel, with all of his fondness for ancient symbols and allegories and with his strong affinity for Heracleite, was unable to see the profound symbol of the bow and the lyre, in which Heracleite demonstrates how opposites give birth to harmony.

The bow is a system of opposing forces, and the stronger the pressure on the opposite poles, the more taut the bow, the better it is. If one reduces or eliminates the resistance at both ends of the bow—that means one destroys the instrument; but, the bow-string can be turned into a musical string on a lyre. The lyre is constructed on the very same principle as the bow. In fact, it is a multi-string bow, and like any stringed instrument is a transformed and sublimated bow.

The principle of the bow is employed in all construction, and above all in architecture. It is structured on the basis of opposing forces, on buttresses and arches; the very word "arch" signifies a bow. All technology, and in essence all of our existence, from the atom to the Solar System and the Universe, is based on the very same principle of harmony and opposing forces. Plutarch wrote about how polyphonic and multifaceted, in accordance with Heracleite, is the harmony of the cosmos, just

like the harmony of the lyre and the bow. The bow and the lyre are identical in principle and are at the same time as opposite as life and death; for the bow brings death, but the lyre brings joy to life.

Marx preferred only the bow. In the Communist Manifesto, he wrote: "The opposing classes will wage a struggle, which always ends either in the revolutionary reordering of the entire social structure, or in the common demise of the struggling classes."

All right! Either revolutionary reordering or the common demise of those engaged in the struggle.

Marxism absolutized the struggle of opposites, and he simply ignored the harmony of opposition. In the final analysis, the goal of the struggle of opposites is peace and harmony, without which the struggle is fatal. The ultimate goal and the meaning of contradiction is the resolution of the contradiction itself, and without this it turns out to be complete nonsense, for the struggle exists for the sake of peace, but not peace for the sake of the struggle. The entire ancient and Christian ethic of the harmony of peace and love rests upon this most important dialectical principle.

Trotsky's very idea of permanent revolution, which the Bolsheviks always followed, became the practice. Since the day they went out to the barricades in the first Russian revolution, they have always been fighting. First with tsarism; then—with the liberal-bourgeois Provisional Government; and then—with their own people. The results of this struggle are horrible: the peasantry, the aristocracy, the merchant class and the intelligentsia—whole nations—were destroyed. And the depth of the destruction of the ecology is limitless.

The practice of Stalinism gave birth to anti-values: physical reprisals rather than competition of ideas; the cruelest of repressions; the introduction of the most primitive idea of leveling, which destroys the source of creativity in man; destruction of morality with the lie; the purposeful inculcation of bifurcation of the individual as the means for his existence; a mythological consciousness, based on mass ideological shamanism; maximum debasement of the dignity of the individual as the conditions for one's survival; exploitation of hopes for the future, based on an endless series of deceptions; and informing on others, elevated to the rank of state morality.

All this also gave birth to intolerance, the constant desire to find the guilty ones who let themselves in for trouble with the authorities and the party, and the pathological hatred of any apparat for "so-called democracy." All this gives birth to the old means as well: to criticism, denunciation, disparagement, lies, rumors, threats and similar delights of Stalinism. The ultimate goal is to return the fear to the people and to hold onto power.

Incidentally, let us put aside the question on what the practice was like—in principle, a great deal is clear here. It is now understood that at its basis lay a primitive

model of all possible models of the future. It is understood that the criteria of socialism were taken more on the basis of straightforward contradiction, known previously, rather than on the basis of any kind of truly profound thought. It is obvious today that there cannot be a science on something that does not yet exist in nature—on communism. Otherwise one would have to acknowledge astrology and palmistry as science as well.

And nevertheless we all—both our country and the world as a whole—have acquired new experience. If one were to single out the main things in it, I would name three aspects.

The first: do not bring matters to confrontation and struggle, to civil war. The reforms must become an irreversible part of life. Mankind no longer has the capacity to pay the possible price for new outbursts and waves of conservatism and reaction.

The second: do not hasten to make grandiose plans for social and historical engineering. The human species has neither the knowledge nor the means to do so yet. Such plans today are like reading tea leaves. Do in reality what can and must be done in order to truly improve the life of the people.

The third: do not reject proven socialist undertakings. But be guided by the precept: "Do no harm!" Know and make use of all man's accumulated wealth of experience, science and decisions.

[Correspondent] The greatest minds of our day call the socialist idea one of the most innovative and promising in recent history. Do you share that assertion or not? Why?

[Yakovlev] When it is a question of the idea itself, I do. But I will not stop at that. And here is why. Historically the socialist idea has taken a great deal from the past: principally, its humanistic direction and its civilized tendency. When Engels compared socialism and early Christianity, there were certain individual, but also significant similarities. Beyond that, there was also a certain kinship in the qualitative stages of the historical development of man and his consciousness. Here there is a huge field for very fruitful thought and research. That is the first thing.

The second: what is the essence of the innovative idea? For the time of its birth in the first person's mind—the fact that it handed the fate of man to man himself. The socialist idea said, that social life is subject to its own laws. Learn what they are, and learn how to use them. Therein lies the innovative idea. Its moral and ethical loading is the restoration of the ideals of early Christianity, raised to the level of knowledge and understanding of the 19th Century.

Third: but wherein lies its promise? In my view, in the fact that it is open to the increase of social and general knowledge, and the experience of mankind. It is open to

development. In the fact that it psychologically, theoretically and practically prepares for a new condition for civilization: to the day when we completely and finally recognize ourselves as fellow-citizens on the Earth, passengers on spaceship Earth, but the masters of our own fate, which will continue to be contradictory and not free from fools.

I think that it is time to give greater and more careful thought to the prospects for world citizenship, and through it look at our problems today, and on the ways and means for solving them. Let us recall how anticlerically inclined were all the foremost minds of Europe over the course of the last two centuries. That inclination was powerful in Russia also. They saw in atheism the means for spiritual emancipation and the liberation of mankind.

But militant atheism, state atheism, which destroys the church and the old culture, murdering its bearers—such atheism turned into a still worse enslavement—both spiritual and practical.

Will it not also turn out that way with certain processes today? Democracy is the means of liberation from the arbitrary rule of totalitarian power. But neither is it free from authoritarian pretensions. Any pretense toward universalism is dangerous.

The promise of the socialist idea lies in the fact that it arouses one to think about all directions of progressivism. But of course, it cannot predetermine neither whether such thinking will take place, nor its results. Mankind is following a complicated path from some kind of prehistoric "herd" to civilization—that is, the birth of the individual as an historic phenomena, the acknowledgment of society of the self-worth and significance of the individual—and so on, to a society built on the basis of internal and socially-free, responsible and enlightened citizens.

If one takes the world at the beginning of the 20th Century and the world at the end of the century, one cannot help see that elements of socialist thought are to one degree or another affirmed everywhere: collective and social property; social defense of the man of labor and various strata of the populace; the right of the individual and the rights of nations; the collapse of colonialism; the limitation of the omnipotence of the monopolies. Normal socialistic values have penetrated the spiritual world of our contemporaries, and have entered into practice, only not by dogmatic prescription. World practice confirms the gradual growth of socialist thought as a common human value.

It is another matter that socialism is not some kind of choice of formulas and solutions; it is above all the result. And it must be measured by the freedom of man, his capabilities for realizing himself, and the level and quality of his life. But the main thing is that man himself and the people themselves make this evaluation, and not someone on their behalf.

[Correspondent] What is your attitude toward the transformations in the Soviet Union? How do you evaluate the idea of humane democratic socialism and the principles of the new thinkings?

[Yakovlev] I believe that such transformations are absolutely necessary, and that they are decades overdue. They are life-savers.

At the very same time, it is now time to distinguish between the idea of revitalization and the practical experience of transformations. Practice can never be the animation of "pure idea." In my view the transformations are accompanied today by two qualitatively different strata of the past.

One is obvious: it is all the people and the structures to whom the transformations are unsuitable. And it is natural that certain leaders of the CPSU are at the head of the faction opposing perestroika. To lose the authority of naked power without responsibility and to be unable to acquire the power of authority—this is the tragedy of the political movement. But those driven by fear are very dangerous, and they are not aware of what they are creating.

The other strata of the past is not on the surface, but it is the stronger and the more dangerous. The Stalinist system has preserved and has also largely revived many of the worst aspects of autocracy. And today they are, unfortunately, with us—they have grown, they have become stronger, and have gained strength and experience: the imperial psychology and thought of the arrogant, corrupt officialdom, which holds the people in contempt, without taking personal responsibility for anything and everyone, leading to the nation-wide loss of a sense of personal dignity of man, the collective and the firm. And much more.

And that is why the practical course of transformation has confronted the country with a crisis, and has forced many people to doubt and even panic: What must we do? But if a mass of pus flows from a hidden wound, that is not an argument for sewing it up and refusing treatment. Certain functionaries have sunk to naked amorality, comparing the results of perestroika with the Fascist invasion. One can, of course, argue for a long time how development would have progressed in a different situation, or prove that historically the country would have been revitalized anyway; but now all this is just talk and nothing more. In beginning the reforms, M.S. Gorbachev shouldered not only a very difficult task, but also the burden of ungratefulness and irritation, and has become a target for public abuse on the part of a lot of loafers and talentless people. It seems to me that one need not share in some of the things the President has done, or even in none at all. One may criticize, but one must not fail to respect the leader, who has chosen the path of democratic revitalization, and the restoration of the country. All this is also a necessary part of the restoration of political culture.

For some reason, the principles of the new thinking were perceived in our country as another foreign-policy doctrine. Yes and no. These principles are not only for foreign but also for domestic policy. From the point of view of the principles, the common approaches, and the political philosophy, there cannot in general be a breakdown here. And they are not something finished, but are namely principles of thinking, of a political world-view, which require continuation and development.

On the whole we are standing at the threshold of a great theoretical breakthrough in the fact that it concerns society, history, social processes, and the fate of the world and mankind.

Causes of 'Radical Intelligentsia's' Break From Perestroika

91U N1451A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 25 Apr 91 p 2

[Article by Aleksey Kiva, doctor of historical sciences: "We Had a Good Time Together..."]

[Text] Why is the perestroika honeymoon ending in divorce?

Until quite recently the leading reformers and the people we call democrats today had a quite adequate common language as they augmented and enriched one another. It is no secret that Gorbachev, while he subdued especially "lively" radicals from time to time, still did not give the right wing (and I insist on a reinterpretation of the old terms, for the right wing are the protectors of the reactionary command system) permission to deal with them, and he encouraged the gradual development of glasnost and democracy. He was fully aware that without the intelligentsia and without its radical part he could not really count on the success of perestroika. But the reformers were afraid of changes that were too rapid and they took all kinds of precautions regarding perestroika, which did not please everyone.

The radical intelligentsia was not left out in the cold. It objectively worked very hard on the reforms that were started. And what happened after that just happened. The "honeymoon" of harmony ended, and mutual accusations of infidelity and perfidy and demands for "divorce" began. With Yeltsin's appearance began the recoil of the intelligentsia away from Gorbachev and toward the new leader of Russia. We know the approximate positions of both sides. But are they convincing? Do the apparent causes of today's differences and even hostility between the two sides not conceal certain deeper causes, that go back into the past?

Reflecting on the extreme ideological intolerance of the Russian intelligentsia and their "fanatical schismatic morality," the eminent philosopher Nikolay Berdyaev wrote: "The majority of the assimilation of Western ideas and teachings by the Russian intelligentsia was dogmatic. What in the West was scientific theory subject to criticism, hypothesis, or, in any case, a relative and

partial truth that made no claim to universality was transformed by the Russian intelligentsia into dogma, something like religious revelation. Russians are always inclined to perceive things in a totalitarian way..."

...

A generally known fact: The radical Russian intelligentsia has invariably opposed the authorities, the state, and its institutions, and, experiencing an oppressive sense of its own historical irrelevance, has suffered from the impossibility (or the limited possibility) of helping the downtrodden people. Out of this soil grew the restlessness, spiritual dissension, despair, malice, terrorism, and professional revolutionism—that purely Russian phenomenon.

Those whom Vladimir Dal defined as the "rational, educated, intellectually developed part of the populace" were grossly suppressed by the authorities, who took revenge against them for their intellect, knowledge, and idealism. For the fact that the intelligentsia has always reacted like a litmus paper to injustice perpetrated in the society.

But the "schism" has always led to impoverishment of the nation, to incomplete use of its intellectual and spiritual potential. Why has this occurred with a certain regularity over several centuries of Russian history? Who bears the most blame here: the authorities, the intelligentsia, or the circumstances?

...

There have been periods in Russian history when "schism" seemed to be almost surmounted historically. The radical intelligentsia—noble or not—responded enthusiastically to the initiatives of those rulers who revealed a desire to proceed toward deep reformation of society. But, alas, a persistent pattern appeared at the same time. While the reforms were gathering force the radical intelligentsia actively supported them. But then the reforms would slow down, there would be a pause, and right then the position of the intelligentsia would change and there would be a new outbreak of "schism." The intelligentsia clearly does not have an adequate historical perspective in its approach to processes in its native land. It is like a pendulum. And, of course, the old "classes" do not want to lose what they have and are unwilling to make concessions. We can see this quite clearly even now. It is almost a rule: Once the reforms have performed a certain amount of "historical work" there comes a pause. Not only the old world but also society is resistant to changes. It quickly grows tired of the stress which is inevitable during the course of deep and rapid changes, and it needs either a temporary breather or smoother transitions.

The paradox is that the people, on whose behalf the reforms are usually undertaken, whose vital interests are ultimately to be served, instinctively resist changes in the existing way of life. The public consciousness is conservative. And it should be conservative. For this is largely

the place where stability of the culture and civilization of the ethnic entity reside in the context of history.

...

A large part of the modern radical intelligentsia, having embraced perestroika with all their hearts and entered the leading ranks of its defenders, a few years later did not see the results it expected. The results that were received (glasnost, a multiparty system, and other attributes of a rule-of-law state) are perceived as given, as things to be taken for granted. For we measure ourselves in terms of the West and in no other way! And this is also a tragedy. The enthusiasm among a considerable number of radicals has begun to wane and is being replaced by dissatisfaction, irritation, and a critical attitude. And here one can see a typical feature of our social consciousness—a strong strain of utopianism and starry-eyed idealism. The payment for the fact that we have not undergone the proper development of consciousness and have not been properly tempered in the crucible of capitalism; we have not learned to achieve success not as a result of another cavalry attack, an assault, a "popular initiative," and so forth, but as a result of hard, painstaking work without hope for quick success.

Yes, of course, during the years of perestroika the central authorities made many serious mistakes, which sharply exacerbated both the problem of our forward movement and the conditions for the life of the people. There was too much inconsistency in the policy for transformations, and ill-considered actions, arbitrary decisions, and incompetence rushed forth. There were also mistakes which it will be difficult to rectify now. But what can we do? Indiscriminately deny any positive results of perestroika and refuse to accept everything that issues from the center, Gorbachev, the government, and the state?

...

Well, what next? I have the impression that many radical intellectuals seriously think that on our poverty-stricken socioeconomic and spiritual-moral basis it is possible to erect the framework of Western democratic institutions and that they will assume the power in the near future. Democracy in developed forms under the conditions of a semi-impooverished existence? Under the conditions of ubiquitous poverty and a low level of culture democracy will almost automatically grow into oligarchy, a strict dictatorship, and the intelligentsia, even if it takes over power, will not be able to retain it. This is not the way things happen as a rule. Figuratively speaking, the intelligentsia is the yeast, the ferment, if you will, but it is not the mass that dominates in the final product.

...

As I understand it, many of our opposition leaders are advising a type of social structure which could conventionally be called liberalism. But liberalism is a philosophy of businessmen, the middle classes, in a word, prosperous people with developed individuality and the ability to compete.

Let us soberly ask ourselves: Will our society, which is largely poor, accept the philosophy of liberalism? I think we know the answer. But in order not to slide into the abyss of another kind of totalitarianism, it is necessary to offer society some more acceptable variant. So, perhaps, "democratic socialism" could be the right variant? It could suit many people. Even the majority. Some would see the democratic principles in it while others would see the socialist ones. Still others might possibly recall how quite recently we anathematized this "democratic socialism," associating it with the social democratic model of a social system and even with the notion that it "serves to protect capitalism and is directed against socialism..." (SES [Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary], 1982, p. 378).

Here I see a broad field for compromise. Communists might consider "democratic socialism" the final choice while democrats might regard it as a kind of symbiosis of socialist and capitalist principles in the social system. Let them consider it a transitional form as well. The future will tell. Ultimately the people will decide, for this is their right.

The most terrible thing that threatens us today, in my view, is the disintegration of society, the complete collapse of everything and anything, with a multitude of possible scenarios which any of us could easily imagine. If one is to speak about a threat to society, it can be seen today not so much from the bureaucrats and the partocrats or the discontented intellectuals as from the extremist, inherently irresponsible ultraradicals—from both flanks of the political battle. Especially those radicals who have ended up with the real authority, the real power. Those who are capable of rallying and leading the masses of millions of people.

The unrestrained criticism of anticrisis measures and nihilism which reaches the point of rejection of everything are a serious mistake. These are displayed by many left-wing (and also, incidentally, right-wing) radicals with respect to any actions from the center in this area. This is criticism in which one can clearly see out-and-out demagoguery and political nihilism.

"The worse, the better"—this might end up so bad that it would be difficult for us to imagine.

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Of course, the logic pursued by some of the left-wing radicals has historical precedents. Under conditions in which society seems to have ended up at an impasse because of the strong resistance of reactionary and in general the old forces, drawing the broad masses of workers, mainly the working class, into the active political process could give perestroika a second wind. Following the example of how this happened in Poland. The working class, united in Solidarity, spoke out openly against pseudosocialism and would not let the party bureaucracy dupe it any more. It is generally known that the bureaucracy can act as the ruling class as long as the working class is beaten, politically passive, and ready to allow itself to be duped and to accept on faith the cynical

myth that it is the ruling class in society while in reality it is being run into the ground and is completely without rights... But, my God! We are not Poland, and that revolutionary path to the most rapid overthrow of totalitarian structures could cost us very dearly. Totalitarianism is in its death throes. We can speak only about time periods, temporary concessions, and sacrifices. So perhaps we should sacrifice the time periods and some of our power and positions so as not to sacrifice the people. And who knows which is the shortest path to the goal?! In 1917 we were in too much of a hurry, and the results were sad.

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While I am a democrat in spirit, I am a left-centrist in my political orientation. This is why I am appealing mainly to the radical intelligentsia and the democrats

Not to get into semantics, the democrats as a social phenomenon are still quite weak. And do not be confused: The leaders who are being followed by the immense masses of the population today are either nationalists or populists, but they are by no means democrats. That is the first thing.

In the second place, in many cases it is simply unreasonable to strive for power now. Let the party that has been ruling in the country continually for more than 70 years try to bring society out of the crisis. We must help it, for any other approach is immoral. But why strive for power under conditions of almost complete collapse? Only very immature parties and extremely inexperienced leaders could do such a thing. In the third place, the struggle for power greatly aggravates the confrontation. Does this always play into the hands of the democrats? At some point the right-wing forces could deliberately provoke the left to a confrontation and thus either discredit them or defeat them. This has happened frequently in history.

But even if we were to say that the CPSU would be defeated now and would leave the stage of political life, this does not mean that it would necessarily be replaced by democrats. A "third force," about which many analysts are already beginning to speak, could come to power. As I understand it, this could be an alliance of all kinds of forces—representatives of imperialist and militaristic circles, nationalists, and so forth.

At the same time one cannot but see that the democrats acted correctly when they took over the leading posts (or a considerable number of them) in the highest organs of power in the RSFSR, and also in the soviets of Moscow, Leningrad, and a number of other cities and regions. I have no doubt that without these support points of antitotalitarianism, without new power in a number of republics, the imperialist forces would long ago have changed over to a broad offensive against democracy and would have tried to reverse the process of social rejuvenation. It is precisely because of the existence of a powerful bloc of progressive forces in the structures of central power in the Russian Federation that positive new tendencies have been observed recently in the

political life of the country. I have in mind, first, the accelerated growth of the independent workers movement; second, the appearance within the framework of the CPSU of a powerful trend called "Communists for democracy" as an alternative to the "ironclad" positions; and, third, a sharp strengthening of the influence among the masses—and not only in Russia but also in other republics—of Yeltsin and his supporters as a real alternative to the partocracy.

But Boris Nikolayevich should not be deceived. His demands for the retirement of the president and the transfer of all power in the country to the Council of the Federation did not add to his allies among the leaders of the republics. Rather the opposite. An opinion regarding this was openly expressed by such a respected leader in the country as the president of Kazakhstan, N. Nazarbayev. As we know, Ukrainian leader L. Kravchuk also moved away from Yeltsin's extreme demands.

In my view it would be much more reasonable to fight not against the president but for the president. Why should he be pushed into the hands of the conservatives? After all, leaders usually act not as they wish to but as the circumstances dictate.

When we speak about the possibility of a quick victory of democracy over totalitarianism, let us think about the following: In the first place, are we not making a mistake when we project the attitudes which prevail in Moscow, Leningrad, and other large industrial centers onto the entire country? After all, there are entire regions where the partocracy rules the roost almost completely. In a number of other regions many people, lacking objective information, are inclined to blame all of our problems not on the antipopular system but on perestroika.

In the second place, I dare say that with the present degree of maturity of our society, a victory of the democrats—specifically the democrats and not the nationalists or totalitarian-populist forces—is impossible not only at the level of the Union but also at the level of the republics. For now the nationalists are the only ones capable of gaining victory over totalitarianism. (I am not investing any kind of emotional nuance in this concept.) But one should not confuse democrats with nationalists, populist-totalitarianists, the poor, and so forth. And I am not sure that a victory by the immature opposition, which has not rid itself of totalitarianism and which is strongly influenced by lower-class populist ideas, would be a victory for the country.

Although, incidentally, I do not rule out the possibility that the assumption of power not by communist but not by democratic forces either is an inevitable intermediate stage along the path of the country's progress from totalitarianism to modern civilization.

I do not think a proponent of democracy and also a representative of the creative intelligentsia, who have suffered so much from totalitarianism, would find it easy to take a position in the dispute between the radical intelligentsia, on the one hand, and the authorities, who

have begun deep progressive reforms and have slowed up but not abandoned them, on the other. I cannot accept the civil war solution and I do not see any way out of the confrontation that is gathering force other than in mutual concessions. I am in favor of assuming power through honest elections.

I believe that we will be able to find a way out of the present situation. As a country we have frequently approached the edge of the abyss and still managed to scramble away from it. I believe in the intuition which frequently comes to our aid. It is apparently the case that as a race we are destined to go through our current difficulties and, God willing, we will go through them in a worthy manner.

CPSU Budget, Personnel Cuts Focus of Kruchina Press Conference

91UN1448A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian No 8,
20 Feb 91 p 11

[Notes from the press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists given by Nikolay Kruchina, CPSU Central Committee administrator of affairs, recorded by Lev Nizhegorodtsev: "Savings the CPSU Still Preserves"]

[Text] It could be seen from the very invitation to the meeting how urgently critical its subject was: "Party property, its status and its future. Sources of CPSU income and expenditures. Privileges of the party apparatus: Have they remained unchanged?"

The changes in our society and disorderly pricing and taxation policies resulted in the fact that CPSU budget planning is now still at the stage of "studying the situation carefully." The people that quit the party and those of its members who still hesitate and do not pay their membership fees have caused considerable damage to the party budget. But the party managed to do the main thing: It approved financing of the activity of Union republic communist party central committees, as well as of oblast committees [obkoms], and city and rayon committees [gorkoms and raykoms]. It was decided to preserve the previous CPSU structures and to invest 100 million rubles [R] to support primary party organizations. The party lost R600 million due to the reduction of its membership fee to two percent. But it was also decided to reduce the number of party officials at all levels and that should entail savings of over R0.5 billion.

Some sore points were discussed: On the future of CPSU property in the Baltic republics in connection with the separation of communist parties that took place there—it amounts to R138 million and remains in possession of the communist parties that adhere to the CPSU platform. As for helping foreign communist parties, it was declared that "we did not make any direct investments but we did provide some money for propaganda and for exchanging experiences." When asked about vacation trips and exchange program trips of CPSU Central Committee members to other countries, as well as taking

their wives on foreign trips paid for by party money, the following figures were quoted. The number of people now taking such trips has dropped by half: 82 party officials—160 people all in all—went abroad on vacation or for medical reasons on invitation from a foreign communist party in 1990. About 600 people from 127 countries visited the USSR last year by invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. In comparison, I may say that we hosted 2200 such guests in 1989 and even more before that.

Some questions were asked about new forms of CPSU administrative activity; in particular, why was the party money invested primarily in banks and not in the production of, say, consumer goods? The answer was unequivocal: The CPSU does not invest in any banks including Menatep, though "it receives hundreds of such proposals; we are studying the problem but we do not have any experience yet; we are being extremely cautious and careful." The CPSU, however, does not have any experience in consumer goods production either and "the CPSU hardly possesses sufficient funds to invest in such enormous projects."

How much money has the party accumulated? As it turned out—R4.9 billion. How does it manage to get hard currency? The CPSU Central Committee buys hard currency from the government at the regular rate of exchange. At present, however, all the hard currency membership fees from those who work abroad accrue in a special account of the Central Committee administration of affairs. Here is the answer to a question about the approximate salaries of party officials: The first secretary of a village raykom is paid R550, of a gorkom—R500 to R600, of an obkom or kraykom [kray party committee]—R700 to R850; a Central Committee member—R1000; a Politburo member—R1200. Nikolay Kruchina gave his assurances that the CPSU Central Committee will provide help to the RSFSR Communist Party for which it is designing a special program.

CPSU's Position in Soviets of People's Deputies

91UN1450A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 91
Second Edition p 2

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences N. Vinogradov:
"Not by Command but by Force of Authority"]

[Text] However ambivalent and contradictory the process of the formation of real political pluralism has been in our country, it shows as clearly as can be that the leading party in the country remains the CPSU. But the preservation and consolidation of this position will largely depend on how strong its positions in the soviets of people's deputies continue to be.

This is why questions connected with the organization, forms and methods of action, and line of behavior of the communist deputies, via whom the CPSU's strategy and tactics in the sphere of state building are exercised and the wishes and instructions of the electorate are implemented,

are evoking particular acrimony. The topicality and significance of these questions are confirmed merely by the fact that they are on the agenda of the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum.

In our opinion, it is necessary primarily in order to correctly define and better assimilate the new role of representatives of the Communist Party in the soviets under the changed conditions to address a creative comprehension of historical experience and the Bolshevik traditions of party work in the soviets.

The party and Lenin at all stages of revolutionary activity attached tremendous significance to the consistent strengthening of party and political influence in the soviets and other mass organizations of the working people. Such influence here, according to Lenin, should be exerted by the communists "not by force of command but force of authority and force of energy and greater experience, greater diversity and greater talent."

The formation of party factions in the soviets, as in other mass organizations, has never served as an end in itself. Their purpose is to ensure the concerted and well-oiled work of the communist deputies based on common goals and interests and the high discipline and responsibility of each of them.

We would note that not only in the pre-October period but also in the first years of Soviet power the Bolshevik factions operated under multiparty conditions. For this reason their experience is very valuable in our day also. It is paradoxical, but this experience is being studied and applied far more actively by our present-day political opponents than the communists.

The fragmentation of the communist deputies and the inadequate assistance to them on the part of the party committees and primary organizations are leading to such intolerable instances that some of them, while having been elected with the support of party organizations or directly in accordance with the CPSU list, consider themselves free of any obligations to their party whatever. And opposing its policy even! Such a situation is explained to a considerable extent by the continuing underestimation of the role of party groups in the soviets, which have for many years given a merely formal account of themselves, as a rule.

Yet if we go back to the times when V.I. Lenin was at the head of the party and the Soviet state, quite a different picture is observed. At that time unflinching attention at all levels of party building was paid to the timely creation and organization of the precise work of communist factions in each soviet and at each congress of soviets. Vladimir Ilich's personal participation in the work of communist factions may serve as graphic testimony to this.

Lenin held in high esteem the difficult work of the communist deputies, who, according to him, bear "a tremendous burden of state work." He emphasized repeatedly the idea that the communists should be

convinced proponents of party policy in the soviets, not act merely as submissive executants who act only under the pressure of party discipline. It is appropriate here to cite a significant episode from the life of the faction of communists of the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Discussing preliminarily the bill "Measures To Strengthen and Develop Peasant Agriculture," which had been drawn up by the Council of People's Commissars [Sovnarkom] and approved by the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee, the faction opposed clauses concerning the award of personal bonuses to individual heads of peasant households. This fact became the subject of examination at a Central Committee plenum. It observed that the faction had made the wrong decision and suggested that it reconsider it. V.I. Lenin was instructed to explain the essence of the errors to the faction.

His speeches helped the communist delegates grasp in greater depth the content and purpose of the bill and recognize the erroneousness of their understanding of the said clauses, and the faction unanimously abandoned its previous decision, and the Central Committee and the Sovnarkom, in turn, took account of all the positive proposals of the members of the faction in additions to the bill subsequently submitted for examination by the congress.

In the course of discussion in the faction Lenin was asked many questions. They included the following: "If the faction rejects a decision of the Central Committee, are we worthy members of the Russian Communist Party or are we exhibiting our intransigence?" Lenin's response to it is highly instructive. "I answer this inquiry," he said, "with the document entitled 'Russian Communist Party Rules.' We read in Section 62 of this document: 'On matters of its internal life and current business the faction is autonomous.' Consequently, all members of a faction have the right and are required to vote their conscience, not as instructed by the Central Committee. If you, voting your conscience, pass a second ruling against a proposal of the Central Committee, we are required on the precise basis of Section 62 to assemble and are now assembling the Central Committee, to whose session you will send your representatives. It is better to discuss such a serious matter two or three times in order to try and clear up an essential disagreement between us. This is how matters stand, this is how we should act. We now need to vote not because the party's highest institution has submitted directives but because they have convinced you or otherwise."

The current CPSU Rules confirmed by the 28th party congress contain a special section entitled "Communists in the Soviets, State Bodies and Public Associations." But, as practice shows, the statutory provisions and the recommendations of recent CPSU Central Committee plenums are being implemented extremely slowly, which is causing the natural concern of the party and its supporters. Since we recognize that work in the soviets should today be more a basic, supporting part of party

work and that it should be performed purposefully, with a view to the long term, there is no excuse for such tardiness.

Many communist deputies are sorely in need of comradely contacts since they have insufficient experience of political speeches, becoming lost sometimes in parliamentary polemics. True, there are also those who are failing to display such interest. Among these primarily are those who were elected by bloc, frequently on a basis of criticism of the CPSU. Some deputies are attempting to downplay their party affiliation. Others persist in a lack of belief in the strength and possibilities of communist factions. There are also both avowed opponents of the creation of factions and manifestly indifferent people with party cards.

But as the positions of the communist factions in the soviets who have united on a voluntary basis strengthen, both wavering party members and those infected with sluggishness are being drawn toward them. Given constant assistance and support on the part of the party committees and primary organizations, the communist factions will prove capable of working enterprisingly and in anticipatory fashion and will raise for discussion by the corps of deputies the most pertinent questions, thereby winning the increasingly great trust of the electorate and strengthening the CPSU's political leadership in society.

Nor will there be a diminution in the CPSU's influence in the soviets in which the communists have found themselves in a minority. Having organized themselves in a faction in the name of the cohesion and unity of their actions, the communist deputies are called upon to perform the role of constructive opposition. There is a wide field of activity here: protest speeches; institution of a process of recall of deputies, communists included, who have not justified the electorate's trust; the demand for the resignation of officials who have compromised themselves... In a word, it is necessary to make use of the whole diversity of methods of parliamentary activity.

The revival of communist factions in the soviets on the paths of assimilation of the lessons of history and Leninist traditions and also study of the international experience of political activity is a dependable guarantee of the conversion of representatives of the CPSU in the organs of people's power into a real political force.

Exodus From CPSU Ranks in Tyumen Oblast

91UN14494 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Apr 91
Second Edition p 2

[Interview with G. Oleynik, secretary of the Tyumen Oblast CPSU committee, by PRAVDA correspondent V. Orlov: "Whom To Go Further With—the People Are Deciding. Comparing the Words and Deeds of the Leaders"]

[Text] Tyumen Oblast—"The main reason for our troubles and shortages is the general irresponsibility that is

spreading like an epidemic. Previously, the leaders were rather afraid at least of the party organs: A summons to report to the raykom [rayon party committee] or to the gorkom [city party committee] could result in the end of a career. But now? Some of the leaders left the party especially so that they would no longer have to answer to anyone for their own deeds..."

This is from a letter that came to the Tyumen correspondent's office of PRAVDA from a resident of Nizhnevartovsk. With respect to the questions it raised, I was getting ready to interview G. Oleynik, the secretary of the Tyumen Oblast CPSU committee, and, therefore, I showed him this letter. Gennadiy Dmitriyevich went through a good school on Tyumen land. He began his work biography as a young engineer 20 years ago in trades in Nefteyugansk. He joined the CPSU. He was invited to work as a department head in the Nefteyugansk Gorkom, and later he was elected its secretary. He headed the party organization in Novyy Urengoy for several years. And a year ago, he was elected second secretary of the CPSU Obkom [oblast committee]. Thus, my interviewee is familiar, not just from hearsay, with the problems about which the author from Nizhnevartovsk writes.

[Correspondent] First of all, Gennadiy Dmitriyevich, I would like to know: What are the losses today in the ranks of the oblast party organization, and what do they mean?

[Oleynik] In the last year, 36,000 persons left the oblast party organization for various reasons. The reasons are diverse—from "disenchantment" and loss of a clear orientation to the most mercenary ("I am tired of paying dues." "What do I gain from membership in the party?"). I think there is no reason to feel sorry for the latter. But many of those who were unable to understand the situation, and who "lost their bearings," deserve attention. Their departure unquestionably was influenced by the contradictory processes occurring in the region.

Just what is our Tyumen Oblast? A powerful fuel energy base that for many years not only reliably supported the internal needs of the country, but also supplemented the state treasury with hard currency. The Communists had specific objectives and tasks associated with the development of the economy and the resolution of social problems. And they coped with them rather well. Judge for yourself. Just in 1988 in the oblast, 3.2 million square meters of housing was erected, and schools were built for almost 30,000 positions. If the Tyumen people would work at this pace, they would resolve the problem of housing as early as 1994-1995.

But what interfered? We believe that confusion and inconsistency in economic reforms and in the perestroika of industrial administration had an impact. I will not go into detail here—this is a special subject. But here are the results. Just in the past year there was a shortfall of 30 million tons of oil, and immediately the volume of housing and sociocultural construction fell by almost a

half. The threat of unemployment arose, and collectives that developed over the decades are falling apart. The largest fuel energy base, in fact, remains without appropriate attention on the part of the government, and even of the party. It is here, in my opinion, that the objective reason for the lowering of the prestige and influence of party organizations in the oblast lies.

[Correspondent] But, after all, there were quite a few of those who tried to advertise their withdrawal from the CPSU with the hope of gaining political capital from it. Is that not so? And a number of managers were among such politicians...

[Oleynik] Indeed, some left the party under the accompaniment of fashionable pompous announcements and tried to run down the CPSU. These people hoped in this way to win the support of voters in the struggle for power, and they came out as the kind of "saviors" who allegedly had the keys to general prosperity. Alas, not a lot of time was required for people to see: The emperor has no clothes. And here the author from Nizhnevartovsk is correct: The main thing that destroys such "operators" is the inconsistency between words and deeds and an absence of responsibility.

I will cite this fact. Stanislav Vitalevich Seleznev was a member of the CPSU, and he worked as the deputy administrator of a trust and as a teacher. He participated actively in the preelection campaign, and he promised the Nizhnevartovsk voters the moon. Many believed him: Because Seleznev was still a Communist then. And so he became the chairman of the Nizhnevartovsk City Soviet, and he hastened to leave the CPSU. And further? After working a little more than a half year...he retired. What happened? Seleznev explained it simply: He said that certain forces were preventing him from doing what he promised.

So, there you have it. The man received authority from the hands of the citizens, and, suddenly, he understood that he was not up to the task. He understood that he would not be able to deliver what he promised, but instead of honestly admitting this, he started to look for culprits all around.

Unfortunately, this is not an isolated case. V. Kazberov, an oil engineer, slammed the door leaving the CPSU. But before this, in the course of the preelection marathon, he was able to succeed, and he was elected chairman of the Novyy Urengoy Soviet. But, after several months, like Seleznev, he retired.

[Correspondent] Perhaps, someone actually was hindering one and the other from putting cherished ideas into practice? Because that is precisely the motivation that both gave for their behavior.

[Oleynik] I was in Novyy Urengoy several days ago, and I saw with my own eyes what "successes" were achieved by Kazberov in the post of chairman of the city soviet of people's deputies. The impression is depressing. Everyone I met complained that the city soviet and its

now former chairman absolutely turned away from the daily problems of the northerners, most of all from housing and social construction. Because earlier, perhaps, the main mark of this city was the wide range of work at construction sites, and annually up to 4,000 apartments, schools, children's preschool establishments, and other social, cultural, and service facilities were erected. In many ways, this was the result of the continuous attention to the social sphere on the part of the party gorkom and the gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee]. But now? The builders have sharply cut back their positions. Last year, city residents were short 2,000 new apartments. Relations between clients and contractors broke down into complete confusion. The first quarter is coming to an end, but it is still not clear in the city what objects will be erected this year. The soviet clearly did not cope with the task of coordinating and uniting the efforts of enterprises and organizations for a resolution of the social problems of the gas workers.

And so judge whether the Communists are to blame for the failures of the former chairman Kazberov. Quite the contrary, they tried to help, but this help, in fact, was rejected. Alas, political ambitions cannot substitute for competence and professionalism in an assigned task for anyone. I am convinced that it is no longer important to residents whether the head of their city is a democrat or a communist, and that the main thing is that problems that disturb them are resolved, and that their social interests are defended consistently. But here, unfortunately, it often happens that: After a worker is evaluated, only his convictions are taken into account, and these are either rejected or placed in the rank of virtue, but his business qualities remain in the background. And what is especially amazing is that "democrats," who reproached communists for this so many times, are today committing the very same sins. As a result of this, there frequently is failure in the resolution of many practical tasks.

[Correspondent] People are complaining that a new bureaucracy is appearing and even flourishing here and there in the new soviets...

[Oleynik] I think that they are not complaining without a good reason. You cannot count how many rebukes were previously directed at communists on this score. I cannot say that they were all groundless. However, now our opponents, who have come to power in a number of cases, in my opinion, have already far surpassed us in the matter of bureaucracy.

For example, that very S. Seleznev in Nizhnevartovsk at the time of the preelection campaign presented himself as an avid fighter against bureaucrats and against the debauchery of the people's money to maintain the apparatus. But when he headed the city soviet, he almost completely rejected social principles in the work of the soviet. For example, he formed dozens of different city soviet of people's deputies commissions, headed by full-time chairmen with substantial salaries, who even

demand that they be assigned their personal cars! This soviet is completely seriously discussing, and as the most important problem, the question of giving each deputy, and there are about a hundred, a regular secretary assistant. Of course, the voters have to pay for all of this out of their own pockets. After all of this, what is the worth of all of the philippics of the democrats against the communists?

[Correspondent] Very likely, the oblast party organization will not remain apathetic to such occurrences?

[Oleynik] It is not in the rules of the communists to remain an uninterested observer. The question lies elsewhere: How to influence the work of the soviets? We conduct our policy most of all through the communists who work there. CPSU factions have been established in the soviets at all levels. Now, when the oil-gas worker subunits of Western Siberia have ended up in the position of outcasts, this is especially important. Local communists are not sitting idly by, and they are trying to confront the confusion with their organizing ability and their own experience in order to stop the process of decay and to save the labor collectives. At times, we discuss the report of the communist manager in party committee, and the purpose is to better understand the developing situation and to assist. I can say that many of them even today treat assigned work with great responsibility. Among them are V. Malogin, chief of the Tyumen Oil and Gas Construction Association; V. Paliy, general director of the Nizhnevartovsk Oil and Gas Association, and R. Suleymanov, general director of Nadym Gas Industry.

These people do not bustle about in order to preserve their cushy jobs. No, they are of those who understand well the significance that Tyumen oil and gas have for the entire state, and for each of us. These are those whom we always called with the words a "state person," whether a minister or an ordinary worker. It is important that such a person is capable of seeing the interests of the Motherland and making them a priority. Are these not the kind of people that the Leninist party has always tried to nurture and support?

Negative Aspects of Future Entry/Exit Law Detailed

91UN1462A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 8 May 91 First Edition p 5

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Ye. Andryushchenko: "A Pass to Nowhere. On the Draft USSR Law on Entry and Exit"]

[Text] The discussion of the law on entry and exit from the USSR (in the second reading) is drawing to a close. Many readers have requested that we evaluate this law and analyze the consequences of its adoption for the economic and social situation in the country. A prominent scientist-sociologist, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Ye. Andryushchenko states his opinion on the subject.

The law on entry and exit is supported by influential groups of members of parliament. All of us have been able to watch on our TV screens presentations at virtually all sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet by deputies on behalf of the Interregional Group (A. Sobchak), and a number of other deputy groups (F. Burlatskiy and others), with demands to adopt this law as soon as possible. Indeed, it needs to be adopted; there is no doubt about that. The only issue is when it will begin to operate actually rather than on paper (as many of our laws do) and in what form, and most importantly, in whose interests...

According to a prediction which the subcommittee of the USSR Supreme Soviet headed by F. Burlatskiy proceeded from, "within the next 10 years, no more than 2.5 million people will be able to migrate to Europe from the USSR." Taking into account the size of the population of our country, there appears to be nothing threatening in this number.

If the stream of migrants turns out to be considerably more extensive, the law on exit may play a fateful role—it may be a boon to only a small group of persons whose motto in life is "grab as much as possible and take off," and a calamity to an incomparably greater number of people in other categories, all the more so if the law is slanted in favor of those who have already established "shuttle runs" with an eye toward profiteering. For example, despite formal prohibitions, they ship "privately" by special flights vodka, halvah, sausage, chocolate, tea, canned meat, alarm clocks, chandeliers, spare auto parts, toothpaste, clothing for children, underwear, window sheers, immersion heaters, drills, footwear, and even machine tools from Armenia to Poland, and bring in cassette recorders, VCR's, unbreakable French tableware, leather jackets, sheepskin coats, half-length fur coats, and so on. There are cooperative tourist passes—no questionnaires, pictures, or airplane tickets. The profit margin is 700 percent! Smart dealers of this kind are in a position to fork over any amount of money for a deputy to speak in parliament with demands for freedom and democracy... for thieves.

Such a law may become a calamity not only for our country but also for our neighbors by exerting a disruptive influence on their lives.

The law may make the country truly open to an exchange of ideas, knowledge, and experience, and provide opportunities for labor contingents to familiarize themselves with advanced Western technologies; however, it may also become a factor in bringing shame upon the country and squandering the most talented, active, and promising human potential for creativity in our own country.

Large numbers of Russians, Belorussians, Ukrainians, and Lithuanians have already appeared in the eastern voivodships of Poland on construction sites and in the fields, at small private enterprises, at boiler plants, and as household servants with standard working hours. Newcomers from the East, for whom the exploitation of

man by man became a beckoning prospect, have gained a reputation as modest and patient hard workers who do not resort to certificates of temporary disability and do not abuse alcohol. Moreover, they have turned out to be the only social group in Poland which is happy with its earnings. If an employer feeds them and pays between 450,000 and 500,000 zlotys per month (no local will work for this kind of money because the average wage in Poland stands at about 1.5 million zlotys at present), the people are grateful because this money can be exchanged into \$40 to \$45. In turn, the dollars may be converted into 1,600 to 2,000 rubles [R]. Therefore, every one of them makes as much per month on the average as he does back home in half a year. It is because of such monthly wages that they agree to live in sheds.

In February and March of this year, 317,000 Soviet tourists visited Poland, and about 40,000 have failed to leave Poland.

The Polish Ministry of Labor and Social Policy is not raising the alarm yet. The trade unions concerned about their own unemployment are not displaying any particular unease either. However, the stream from across the Bug is picking up, and if the arrivals begin to steal the bread of Polish workers, social tensions will mount inexorably.

At the same time, the desire is increasing to organize the job migration of specialists who are in short supply in Poland—physicians, paramedics, public sanitation workers in cities, and so on. Prerequisites for this are as good as can be. This stream will be due to bitter privation rather than romanticism.

Unemployment is mounting in Latvia. At the end of last year, more than 12,000 people were needed, according to requests filed by enterprises, whereas at present, trade, public catering, household services, food-processing, wood-industry, and footwear-industry enterprises, as well as the Latvian Maritime Shipping Line, virtually do not need labor. Mechanical and electrical engineers, computer operators and programmers are being left without jobs. In small rayon centers, the emerging situation is even worse: The discontinuation of the operation of even a small production facility, or a staff reduction, creates a situation in which finding a job is virtually impossible. According to calculations by Latvian specialists, the number of unemployed will come to between 24,000 and 40,000 men by the end of the year. Some 70,000 graduates of higher schools, technical schools, trade schools, and high schools will face serious problems. For the first time, they will not have firmly assigned jobs; they will have to look for work themselves.

A catastrophe is unavoidable if the law on exit and entry is adopted without serious socio-economic work and if it ends up being a flat instruction on receiving passports for foreign travel, while the country continues to travel its current economic path.

In East Germany, 17 percent of the able-bodied residents are unemployed, and by the end of the year 3.5 million.

or more than one-third, of nine million able-bodied Germans will be unemployed. Meanwhile, Bonn has allocated more than 100 billion deutsche marks to develop the former GDR; there are no interethnic conflicts in the country, and its state mechanism has been fine-tuned...

The picture is quite different in our country. What lies in store for us?

V. Pavlov, chairman of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, offered predictions of development scenarios for the national economy when he outlined an anti-crisis program at a joint meeting of the Fifth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 22 April 1991. For one of the three scenarios, he mentioned the number of unemployed as between 15 and 18 million, and in another scenario, in the event of completely giving up direct state influence on the economy and switching to purely market relations—30 million unemployed. In the process, the bulk of the population may end up below the poverty line.

According to the RSFSR Law On the Employment of the Populace, adopted on 19 April 1991, our citizens are now "relieved of forced and compulsory labor. Individuals who do not wish to work shall not be punished for this through administrative or criminal measures." They are given the right to work... in any other country. However, if we take into account that Italy, Belgium,

France, and a number of other countries have already attempted to bar immigrants from normal life, it will become clear that the legislative possibility itself does not guarantee the receipt of such work abroad.

Who will be held accountable for the woes of Soviet citizens (deceived by hopes and prepared to take risks), for the issuance of "passes to nowhere," for the woes of the millions of shattered families? On the other hand, will not the 750,000 quota of those taken in annually (400,000 persons in the United States, 250,000 in Canada, and 150,000 in Germany) become the "extractor" of the intellect and force of our own nation?

It is necessary to immediately analyze the problem of the migration of human contingents abroad from the point of view of preserving the stability of our country and the world community which reflects the interdependence of countries when such processes emerge, and to generalize organizational arrangements practiced in the world.

The law on exit should exist, and it will come about. However, it should start operating as a system of locks which makes it possible to overcome difficult stretches rather than as a busted dike producing a destructive stream which sweeps away everything in its path. It should work for the benefit of the entire society rather than the parasitic anti-social groups in it.

Soviet Bulgars Association Set Up

*PM2305141591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 May 91 Second Edition p 1*

[RIA report: "First Congress of USSR Bulgarians"]

[Text] The first congress of USSR Bulgars has been held in the town of Bolgrad in the south of Odessa Oblast. By

its decision a new Soviet public cultural and educational national association has been set up whose aim is to help satisfy the national needs of the Soviet Bulgars in every possible way.

**Special KGB Edition of VESTI
ZAMOSKVORECHYA****Letter to Readers***91UF0749A Moscow LUBYANKA, No 14 in Russian
Jan 91 p 1*

[Letter to readers by Colonel A. Baskakov: "To Our Readers"]

[Text] Dear readers!

Before you is a special edition of VESTI ZAMOSKVORECHYA newspaper but under the title LUBYANKA, 14. Why is that so? Because the VESTI editorial staff has prepared this edition jointly with the KGB City of Moscow and Moscow Oblast Press Service Directorate and we hope that a new newspaper will begin with it....

The appearance of this issue today is entirely natural. The Committee for State Security is attaching paramount importance to the development of democratic principles and glasnost. The mechanisms of cooperation with the renewing and new organs of state power and government and accountability to them is actually being created all over again and direct contacts with workers' collectives, creative unions, educational institutions, and the mass media are being deepened. At the same time, certain forces have launched a campaign against the state security organs. These forces are pursuing the goal of demoralizing personnel, compromising the KGB in the eyes of society, and creating favorable conditions for attaining their own group political interests.

If we talk about the tactics of these attacks, we have clearly noted a shift toward discrediting specific USSR KGB agents and leaders. In so doing, people are often used who have been dismissed from the organs as a rule under compromising circumstances. And although the efficiency factor of these activities is not very high—according to all of the latest public opinion polls, the KGB has the highest rating among all state and social structures—the fever pitch and sharpness of the attacks will hardly be reduced in the near future. And, pay attention, it is at that moment when the question is next raised about reviewing the Law on the KGB in the USSR Supreme Soviet that the KGB organs will be subjected to the sharpest criticism. It was prepared more than a year ago and has been discussed in the appropriate USSR Supreme Soviet commissions, but... for some reason it is not being submitted for review.

And right now there is the most critical need for this Law.

In December 1990, USSR KGB City of Moscow and Moscow Oblast Directorate agents, just like their colleagues in other cities, began a great deal of work on realizing the November 23, 1990 USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution "On The Situation in the Country" and the November 30, 1990 USSR Presidential Decree "On

Increasing Workers Control for the Purpose of Establishing Order in the Storage, Transportation, and Trade of Food and Consumer Goods."

State security organs were tasked with organizing an effective struggle with economic sabotage and with monitoring the purposeful utilization of imported goods and humanitarian aid and also to promote programs to provide the population with food and consumer goods.

According to data as of January 1, 1991, the deployment of state security organ men and equipment who are directed to fulfill the tasks assigned to them has been totally completed and KGB agents are carrying out their functions.

The USSR KGB City of Moscow and Moscow Oblast Directorate, in cooperation with law enforcement organs, committees for workers control, and representatives of executive rule, is uncovering mechanisms for massive embezzlement and abuse and cases of mismanagement and negligence.

We must note that far from all leaders of Moscow city departments and organs realized the importance and responsibility of the tasks assigned to them by the November 23 USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution and the November 30, 1990 USSR Presidential Decree and are not hurrying to carry them out.

People are tired of waiting for decisions to begin to be transformed into specific acts. It is time to shift from words to actions.

In our future Moscow newspaper LUBYANKA, 14, we plan to inform Moscow residents about capital KGB agents' specific actions to establish order.

Until recently, articles on Committee for State Security activities have been reduced to coverage of individual uncoordinated episodes from operational practice or the reaction to biased articles in the press. Today the time is ripe to shift from specific cases to thematic coverage of the life and activities of the KGB. Glasnost in Committee for State Security work is becoming a real form to ensure the country's security and a guarantee of the Soviet people's support of KGB agents' work.

Operation Against Contraband Described*91UF0749B Moscow LUBYANKA No 14 in Russian
Jan 91 p 2*

[Article by LUBYANKA, 14 Correspondent D. Lezi-tyen: "Operation of the Year"]

[Text] This is how the writers—criminologists association charitable fund recently assessed the sensational return of 1,050 icons to the country. I.B. Popov, chief of the Moscow UKGB [KGB Directorate] Subdivision to Combat Smuggling, and Senior Special Agent V.A. Zotov each received a thousand ruble prize from the fund.

At first meeting, it is entirely possible to take Igor Popov for a bureaucrat with the rank of deputy department chief. He is of average height, balding, and not very well-groomed. However, he is a real superman. It is true that Popov does not chop up his enemies with his teeth nor does he shoot them like Schwarzenegger heroes using platoons and half-companies. Nevertheless, he certainly is a tough guy. And "operation of the year" is confirmation of that.

Popov fights smugglers. This is a specific case. Ordinary investigative methods are practically useless here. The so-called latent component: That is, when a crime practically does not have any traces in time and space. Therefore, in order to catch a smuggler, you need to catch him red-handed, for example, with the goods while crossing the border. But how do you do that if, for example, it is a diplomatic cargo and, in accordance with the International Convention, is not subject to a customs inspection? By the way, this is the way a French transportation firm attempted to export icons from the USSR.

I cannot describe all of the subtleties (although this is the most interesting part) but naturally there was also external surveillance and penetration into the criminal group. And, in short, when the van arrived at customs in Butovo, Popov nearly knew for certain that there were icons in it. Nearly! But suddenly a blunder? That is an international scandal. And, accordingly, serious trouble for the service right up to....

In general, for starters, they needed to distract the firm's owner who literally did not leave the truck. Popov had figured out how to do this beforehand. Two people with a television camera suddenly ran up to the firm's owner to request an interview about how things are going in the USSR. Sure! And the conversation went on about poor roads and Soviet bureaucrats. But the customs agents had X-rayed the box during this time. The icons were in there! Popov himself conducted the "interview" from here on out: How many more boxes like this do you have? At first, the firm's owner... said there were no more... but when the television camera was turned on him again, he "remembered" another five, and later another five....

That is how, in brief, the sensational operation occurred. Without shootings or fights. Incidentally, the KGB considers these sensitive situations to be a sign of unprofessional work: this means not everything was taken into account and not everything was considered.

Judging by the results, Popov considers and calculates precisely. I think it is very significant here that he is not simply a good agent but an expert in antiques. He knows what a Guarnerius and what a Stradivarius are. And there are less than a dozen of these people in the country.

And, as it nearly always happens with serious experts, Popov, in my opinion, is somewhat "involved" in his own profession.

For example, he is convinced that the fight against smuggled ancient Russian tempera icons underlies ensuring the country's state security. By the way, I am personally convinced by the arguments that he cites in support of this thought.

"This ancient icon," thinks Popov, "is not simply a material treasure and not even simply a work of art. By exporting them abroad, the smugglers are essentially exporting the people's national spirit and transforming it into a currently popular exotic commodity. And the trouble is not so much that you do not often encounter 18th-19th century icons in churches as much as that cheaply painted homemade articles serve as sacred images in peoples' homes. A believer-grandmother prays to a color lithograph—where do we go from here? We are losing something very important and pivotal in the Russian soul, and this is no less dangerous for the state's security than spies or saboteurs.

At this point, Popov's colleague interrupts the conversation on this subject:

"Igor, did you hear what a deputy said about your smugglers at the Mossoviet? He said they are 'children.' Works of art are disappearing in the Soviet Union anyway so let us export them to the West and preserve them for mankind...."

In general, Popov is an astute interlocutor, even somewhat of a polemicist, but here he answered briefly:

"For the sake of," said Igor Borisovich and demonstrated an insulting gesture.

Well, a bit laconic. Then also not without evidence. The "operation of the year" was conducted in March 1990. And quite recently Popov and his boys "caught in the act" another transportation firm (now an Italian one) that contrived to load works of art onto trucks after the customs inspection.

Existence of 'Russian Mafia' Considered

91UF0749C Moscow LUBYANKA No 14 in Russian
Jan 91 p 2

[Article by USSR Moscow and Moscow Oblast UKGB Press Group Chief A. Mikhaylov: "Just What Is the Russian Mafia?"]

[Text] I have ended up under a crossfire at more than one of these meetings with foreign journalists. At first, an American reporter, an old hand with the crime problem, shook me by the lapels of my sports coat with feigned indignation.

"When will you put an end to this Mafia thing? Like an octopus, they have entangled not only your society but also already our society with their tentacles. The Russian Mafia in the West—it is a monster which our justice system is not equipped to combat. Your criminals are not afraid of fines because they can pay any fines. They are not afraid of our jails: compared to yours, they are a

resort. They are specializing in crimes which are not regulated by our laws. Well, what ordinary person would dilute gas with water? But the main thing is—your Russian Mafia in the West is incredibly united and bold. Tell your leadership that the Americans are ready to render any material assistance to you if only you effectively combat them here in the Soviet Union. In the final analysis, your security—is our security....”

I also did not have time to answer before a journalist from Scandinavia interrupted our conversation:

“Russian prostitutes have flooded into Finland and Sweden, Denmark and Norway. There is no woman who is more aggressive, insolent, and deprived of the elementary feeling of her own dignity than a fallen woman from Russia. We fear for the morality of our children and we are ashamed of these creatures that bear the name—women....”

And then a German journalist joined in:

“The Russian Mafia controls entire criminal sectors and it dictates prices for our drugs. It is being assimilated with the southeastern Latin American Mafia. This is an explosive mixture....”

While listening to the confused and twisted speech of foreigners, I instinctively thought: “To what level of degeneration has society reached when it horrifies its neighbors on the planet not with missiles or tanks but with prostitutes and gigolos, drug dealers and speculators.”

So just what is the Russian Mafia? Does it exist in our country or not? Only juridical practice can answer these questions unambiguously. And it simple does not exist. Moreover, even the concept itself of “organized crime” does not exist in our laws. And the court is reduced to nothing. In a direct and figurative sense.

And that is why all of these discussions about the existence of the Mafia are primarily based on the conclusions of practical persons and their colleagues who on a daily and hourly basis clash with the objective reality that confirms the existence of this very organized crime that is not regulated by articles of the Criminal Code and which consequently exists only in magazine articles and in lawyers’ own deductions.

We are continuously adopting new laws but we are forgetting about studying their possible criminology. And this sometimes directly leads to the appearance of a new variety of crime. Let us recall the “Law on Cooperatives.” The imperfect system of taxation resulted in the capability to conceal significant sums. And suddenly the embezzler, the “orderly of the forest” has appeared—that is, the racketeer. It is he through his criminal activities who has created that which the state has not done—introduced a taxation system that permits detection and seizure of excess profits.

The entrepreneur of the West simply laughs in the face of any extortionist because a precisely functioning tax

system will immediately reveal the crime and it is the collection of the gift by the criminal. Many racketeers in our country have accumulated capital that is sufficient to open their own businesses. And I am not surprised that it is they who will be the first “privatizers,” that is, owners of private apartments, stores, offices, etc. Right now the thought is being actively propagandized in the press that, they say, we do not need to be afraid of legalizing the shadow economists. They themselves have adapted to amassing and distributing money and organizing businesses. These maxims cause a feeling of heartburn in a professional. Yes, the Mafia knows how to amass and organize—not to withdraw! But here the amassed money will not be invested in an honest business. It is not advantageous: First of all, the profitability is lower here, second, taxes.... In general, if they invest some crumbs, it is only as a cover for criminal activities.

One of my colleagues says that where he lives representatives, let us put this way, of a non-native ethnic group have privatized the barbershops. But the city has not become closely cropped because of this since only the fellow-tribesmen of latter-day Figaro’s can really permit themselves a simple flat-top that costs a coworker his monthly salary.

While voting on privatization, some of our parliamentarians are not considering one circumstance. Privatization actually can become a decisive step toward our well-being. But only in the event of equal starting opportunities for members of society when the new entrepreneurs’ calloused hands and bright minds will be the criterion for the right of property, like, incidentally, in that same “wild” West. Otherwise, we will get not a free, but a criminal, Mafioso market. Unfortunately, this is already a reality because profiteers are already sitting on their money bags in Moscow and are ready to put their hairy paws (and they already are doing this!) on what all of the people have created over the decades.

And what is most dangerous—they have few obstacles in their path. Law enforcement organs remind us of the defenders of the Brest Fortress while resisting the onslaught of crime but the legislators are racing over the embankment in the steam engine that has become red hot from passions and instead of the brake, they are pulling the whistle handle and releasing steam into the piercing whistle. Having proclaimed the concept of “economic sabotage,” they have not formulated the juridical concept of this phenomenon and have not introduced it into active legislation. Law enforcement organs have found themselves in a spicy situation. They are demanding that law enforcement organs combat “sabotage” but these organs have to operate under the active articles of criminal legislation. As a result, real saboteurs are turning out to be out of range because in the majority of cases their criminal activities can only be classified as a violation of departmental directives or orders of the leadership. And therefore we need to recognize as just those rebukes that a small fish is ending up in the nets of the law enforcement organs who is answerable at the tree-felling for the crime of their own “ringleaders.”

Extraordinary circumstances, and today we can talk about them, suggest extraordinary powers. Declarations about the need to combat crime—are empty words that are not reinforced by the Law and do not cause anything besides a sneer—the detectives have a melancholy sneer and the criminals have a satisfied sneer. So far, there is no "Law on the Militia," there is no "Law on the Committee for State Security," and new articles that regulate responsibility for crimes that have become a reality under the conditions of perestroika have not been introduced into the active RSFSR Criminal Code. Who benefits from this?

To whose liking is the wave of articles that compromise the law enforcement organs? Who gains from the fact that professional detectives are leaving to work in joint ventures and cooperatives, procurators are retraining as lawyers, and when you can defame and disparage the courts not only through chronic failures to appear on a summons but also directly: with shouts and scandals directly in the courtroom?

Of course, this is my personal opinion, but I am convinced that the people who are scribbling the wave against the law enforcement organs, are cutting down the bough on which they are sitting and, consciously, and frequently involuntarily, are carrying out the social order of that same Mafia which does not exist de-jure, but does exist de-facto. Naturally, right now it is simple and safe to curse KGB agents and to frighten the people around you and yourself with mythical total surveillance, with millions of nonexistent dossiers, and with the ubiquitous eyes and ears of the intelligence services. Not common sense, if you will, but the instinct for self-preservation must ultimately suggest that it is time to direct our ardor against the real enemies of perestroika—against those whom the Committee for State Security is combating and will continue to combat. Incidentally, with the support and assistance of Soviet citizens. Hundreds of daily telephone calls to our press service attest to this support.

Role of CIA's Planning Directorate Viewed

91UF0749D Moscow LUBYANKA No 14 in Russian
Jan 91 p 4

[Unattributed Article: "A New CIA Directorate"]

[Text] As reported in the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE (April 1990), U.S. Central Intelligence Agency Director W. Webster, speaking during the middle of April 1990 at the Boston Council on International Affairs, publicly stated for the first time that a new CIA directorate had been created—the Planning Directorate. Previously, there were four: intelligence operations, information analysis, science and technology, and administration.

Webster stressed that the new, fifth in number directorate had already been formed at the CIA's initiative in September 1989, that is, "prior to those grandiose events which broke out in Eastern Europe at the end of the

year." On the threshold of anticipated major changes, the CIA, in his words, has decided that it needs a special organ "to track new intelligence information requirements as a result of rapid changes in the world and to effectively react to newly arising situations."

Webster stated that the planning and coordination of intelligence activities that are being carried out by the new directorate will affect all elements of the intelligence process: collection subdivisions, technical information collection systems, analysts, and the primary consumers. One of the directorate's tasks is to ensure the close contact and cooperation of those who assign tasks to intelligence with those who carry out these assignments. Until now, such strategic planning was a function of the CIA's executive director. Now this post has been eliminated.

G. Foster, who previously headed one of the offices in the CIA's Administrative Directorate, has been named director of the new Planning Directorate. The new directorate has a small staff for now but a CIA spokesman said that "it certainly will grow." In his speech, Webster made us to understand that the Planning Directorate will have to work "very intensely" since American political leaders are carefully following the events that are unfolding in the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe and are constantly assigning new tasks to intelligence.

Later in his speech, Webster noted that the discovery of the Soviet Union's intentions and the assessment of its military-economic potential remains on the list of priority American foreign intelligence tasks for now. However, the U.S. Administration is increasingly concerned that some third world countries are building up their arms arsenals. The proliferation of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons poses a serious threat for regional stability and threatens U.S. interests. Webster asserted that the CIA noted this threat beforehand and is working in this sphere "with good confirmation." It is the CIA, said Webster, that discovered the illegal deliveries of arms and equipment for their manufacture to a number of countries.

The worsening economic situation in the United States, especially the country's foreign trade balance, poses a great threat. These problems are part of a series of priority foreign intelligence tasks. Intelligence must track the international capital market since it is this market that provides efficient and anonymous financing of such activities as narcotics smuggling distribution; drug money laundering; terrorist acts; and, clandestine deliveries of weapons, technology, and equipment for the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction.

Operations Against Opium Plantations in Tajikistan Examined

91WD0801A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA
in Russian 23 May 91 p 4

[Article by Natalya Kozlova: "Hunters of Death: In These Days the Opium Plantations in Tajikistan

Remind Us very much of Ch. Aytmatov's Famous Novel 'Plaxa' [The Executioner's Block]"

[Text] The OMON [special-purpose militia detachment] stood with their scythes in the stillness. This lasted for a fraction of a second. Lads in black were running down along the slope. The rotor blades of a heavy "Mi-8 mt" helicopter broke the silence. The hot air painfully beat upon my back and stirred up spirals of dry twigs and sand. A field lay at the bottom of the glen.

Several minutes prior to the assault landing, I heard the following dialogue in the cockpit of the helicopter that was flying around the mountain slopes:

"Will this field accommodate us?"

"Too small. Let us find another."

Only a large field would accommodate them. The tiny patches that were sculpted one behind the other along each mountain crevice were not adequate for any sort of helicopter, any OMON, or any forces....

The opium poppy season is in full swing in Central Asia.

This is like a marathon that is using up its strength and soul—who previously? Along one side of the barricade, the entire pyramid of drug business dealers—from rank and file sowers right up to clan ringleaders. Along the other side—those whom we generally call—law enforcement organs. Between them are fields of charming, delicate flowers, human lives, and billions of rubles. The Field of Death is between them.

There are dead mountains in storm clouds, narrow canyons, and vertical slopes right up to the primary opium poppy's "breadbasket" in the north of Tajikistan—Pendzhikentskiy Rayon. It is right now in May that O. Khamroyev, head of the local OVD [Internal Affairs department] criminal investigations section, has his most intense work. He needs to destroy crops in the yards of homes and in the mountains. He needs to prevent the numerous "guests" from driving in or flying in here like flies to honey.

Price increases have also affected drug prices. In Tajikistan, a gram of raw opium costs 150 rubles. A pretty penny as compared to other regions of the country. In general, the price of opium has increased by nearly a factor of eight. And it has accumulated a great deal more money for those desiring to get rich from it.

THEY ARE LEAVING.... They run away in various directions as soon as the helicopter traverses the mountain. We cannot detain them. But even if a miracle happened and we could have landed the aircraft on the steep slope, we would hardly have been able to prove the peoples' involvement with the opium poppy fields. The numerous plots in the mountains do not have owners. No one sows them, there are no guards, and there are no pickers. They are phantom people. But there are bullets that fly into those who, through their duty to service, destroy the results of their labor—opium.

Several years ago, it seemed preposterous to mow down a field while armed to the teeth. Now this is standard. Neither OMON nor the drug Mafia fighting subunit would set off to perform "agricultural work" unarmed. All of this is sad because they cannot respond to either the insult or to the bullet. They do not have the right to. Incidentally, you had to spend more than several days in the air during those same recent years to find a poppy field. This year in Pendzhikentskiy Rayon alone the increase in sowing has doubled as compared to last year.

You will agree that in this situation it is simply trivial to have drug fighting subunits in that same Pendzhikentskiy Rayon. Even a hundred temporary duty militia agents from the republic capital cannot resolve all of the problems.

"Can we really fight the drug Mafia with our forces!" says Tajik SSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Colonel R. Zairov, chief of the criminal investigations administration. "Only two dozen men are involved with this problem in earnest throughout Tajikistan."

OMON Company Senior Lieutenant Sergey Karimov works harder than all of his charges. And the work is this—to cut down a plot, to break down fences, and to destroy the homemade running water if it exists. They competently sow the opium poppy. In some places, they are already cutting the pods and gathering the first lethal drops and in some places the poppy's shoots have just begun to sprout. They will shoot up when the harvest has already disappeared from the other fields.

On the helicopter crew, the OMON company and the militia get almost two dozen plots destroyed per day. Is this a lot or a little? More than, say, last year but in general this is little. Judging by everything, this is not even one half or one quarter of what has been sown. They say that in the United States, the national guard flies similar missions against the crops. The police simply find and designate the fields' coordinates. But the sown area is much larger in our country. And the USSR MVD aviation helicopter crew and the exhausted militia have callouses on their hands from the scythes while they conducted Operation "Mak" [Opium]—a pretty detail just for a newspaper story. It will be interesting to see how long they will last? They are not only reforming the militia....

In APRIL, a USSR MVD headquarters session took place right before the beginning of the opium poppy season in Alma-Ata. Concerned officials from all the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan agreed upon and coordinated the impending work. They all have the same difficulties and problems, too. You look at the papers and everything is written precisely and correctly. Each person has his task. Local Soviet authorities and the former and, in some places, still existing agroprom and Komsomol also have something to get involved with.... But the "opium season" has arrived and once again the militia clears them all up. In the villages (where everyone young and old alike knows about opium and

they guard the fields and gather the harvest) the situation is not simple—families are large, wages are ludicrous, and sometimes there are also not any wages at all. Here they hire people to work on a cash basis. And this occurs not because the people are bad but because they are forced to earn their living this way. But it is not at all a militia matter to become involved with their problems.

The Komsomol, which in previous times worked in different ways but nevertheless worked, has currently gone so deeply underground that even the militia is incapable of finding it.

There is one more trend: The drug Mafia becomes insolent and the laws become softer. Of course, humanization of the laws is a good thing. Just fines for a single possession and smoking drugs have not been subjected to change—R50.

And we need to do something with the elderly. And this is why it is a question about them: according to the results of Operation "Mak," in Pendzhikentskiy Rayon 44 criminal cases were filed, 30 people were convicted, but only two were sent to "places not too far away" from the dock. Often crops of the opium poppy found by the militia belong to people who are not subject to a severe measure of punishment due to their extremely advanced age. No matter how many strong and young people there are in a family that grows the opium poppy, the oldest names himself as the owner. Frequently these people not only cannot work in the fields but they cannot even... move around by themselves.

The opium harvesting season is not only in full swing in our country. The situation is somewhat more serious on that side of the border—in Afghanistan. It is true that the

size of the fields there is numbered in hundreds and thousands of hectares and the "harvest" in tons. According to Tajik USSR KGB data, no more than one percent of the drugs remain in Afghanistan. The rest, up to 70 percent, goes to Pakistan. It is also "shared" with our country. Already this year detained citizens from the neighboring country who had opium and marijuana for us are sitting in investigatory isolation. And the drug business' motivation among them all is the same—hard currency. Here just the owners of the fields among the Afghans are somewhat younger. Former Teacher Abdul Basir has 30 combat groups consisting of 1,500 men, missile launchers, and Stingers. During their free time from combat operations, the band-group labors in the opium fields. The 35-year-old commander's single shipment—is 150 kilograms. In Darayi-Khash village, Makhmud, also 35, a deserter from the armed forces and currently the commander of a combat group, has nearly 2,000 hectares of opium poppies and hemp and he has his own laboratory for processing opium into heroin. It would be unpleasant to be a prophet and especially in this matter but is that not our tomorrow appearing over there on the other side of the river?

Thirteen opium fields died at the hands of the helicopter's passengers and crew that day. The sun had already long ago been lost in the purple clouds and night had emerged from the shady canyons. Helicopter Commander A. Chizhov, Navigator O. Spiridonov, and Flight Mechanic V. Kushtan piloted the aircraft toward the shining lights of the city through pouring rain in the darkness. When the rotor blades stopped, only peals of thunder could be heard.

The "owners" of the opium fields had returned to their jobs.

Soviet, Foreign Parliamentary Correspondents Form Guild

91UN1597A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 6 Mar 91 p 1

[TASS report: "What Kind of Guild Will It Be?"]

[Text] We still do not know whether the new public organization of Soviet and foreign journalists fully accredited by the USSR Supreme Soviet will be called an association or a guild of parliamentary correspondents, but it did make its presence known on 5 March, the date of its constituent assembly.

The idea of forming this kind of association has been around for a long time. The organizers' main goal is the coordination of work for the more complete and objective coverage of the activities of the country's supreme governing body and the people's deputies of the USSR. Besides this, experience has shown that there are times when a journalist needs the protection and support of his colleagues.

The Union of Journalists of the USSR and the press center of the USSR Supreme Soviet are expected to serve as the co-founders of the association. Later, as organizations of this kind are formed in the republics, it could also unite journalists covering the work of the legislative bodies of the partners in the federation.

RSFSR Decree on Developing Mass Media

91UN1597B Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 19 Mar 91 p 2

[Decree of RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Present Status and Future Development of Material and Technical Base of Republic Mass Media in RSFSR, signed by Chairman B.N. Yeltsin of RSFSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow on 27 February 1991]

[Text] At this time the activities of the highest governing and administrative bodies in the RSFSR are not receiving adequate coverage in the news media. Only four percent of all the printing facilities for the publication of RSFSR newspapers are under the jurisdiction of the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media. There are no printing facilities for the issuance of newspapers and journals of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and RSFSR Council of Ministers. Only eight percent of all the newsprint produced by enterprises in the republic is allocated for periodicals.

The RSFSR still does not have jurisdiction over the second channel of the central television network and a radio station.

For the purpose of establishing republic and other news media in the RSFSR, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet hereby decrees that:

1. The RSFSR Council of Ministers will draft special state scientific and technical programs for the development of printing facilities in the republic in the first half of 1991. The necessary measures will be taken for a considerable increase in the output of paper.

2. In compliance with the decision of the First Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR on the creation of a Russian radio and television broadcasting network, the RSFSR Council of Ministers will arrange for the following:

—the transfer of the second union television channel to the jurisdiction of the RSFSR before the end of 1991;

—the transfer of part of the fixed assets to the RSFSR at no cost.

3. The RSFSR Ministry of Communications, Information Science, and Space, working in conjunction with the All-Russian State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company, will make all of the arrangements for the establishment of "Radio Russia" on one of the union radio stations before 15 April 1991.

4. The RSFSR Council of Ministers will, with a view to the current state of the mass media, determine the sequence for the provision of television and radio broadcasting facilities with special equipment, vehicles, communication systems, office equipment, and materials, offering maximum assistance to republic, kray, and oblast news media, and schedule measures for the cardinal improvement of the organization of subscriptions, deliveries, and retail sales of periodicals in the RSFSR.

5. The RSFSR Council of Ministers will set up an administration for the coordination of the activities of local (oblast, kray, and republic) television and radio broadcasting committees as part of the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media to offer the necessary assistance in construction and equipment supply operations.

6. The councils of ministers of the republics making up the RSFSR and the executive committees of kray, oblast, autonomous oblast, autonomous okrug, and Moscow and Leningrad city soviets of people's deputies will take the necessary measures for the allocation and use of resources for the development of printing facilities and investigate the possibilities for the allocation of production areas for the publication of periodicals.

7. The RSFSR Council of Ministers will be expected to acquire hard currency for the equipment needed for radio and television broadcasting, the periodical press, and other news media in the republic in 1991.

TV, Radio Slated for Northeast Estonia

LD2305201891 Tallin PAEVALEHT in Estonian
10 May 91 p 1

[Text] The Administrative council of the newly established "Virumaa Infokeskus" [VIK] [information centre

for Virumaa District) state enterprise held another of its meetings in Kohtla-Järve. VIK encompasses the 'POHJARANNIK' newspaper and printing firm; newspapers 'VIRUMAA TEATAJA' 'POHJA KODU', and 'Vedomosti'; as well as ETV (Estonian TV) and ER (Estonian Radio) correspondent's offices.

A report on VIK starting work was made by Kaie Nagelman, standing in for the information center's director. The administrative council discussed reorganization of the journalism system in Virumaa District. It is planned to set up an all-Virumaa Viru radio and local television. Sociologist Sergey Gorokhov spoke about the plans of Vik's Narva department.

It was decided to set up a working group to elaborate a journalistic conception for East Virumaa District.

'Radio Vedo' Transmits From Former Jamming Stations

PM2105135391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 91 First Edition p 2

[Correspondent Yu. Shcherbinin report: "Jamming and Commerce"]

[Text] Volgograd—In October 1990 Larisa Ulyanenko, the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting's own correspondent for Volgograd and Astrakhan Oblasts, raised in our newspaper the problem that powerful transmitters once used to jam foreign radio voices were standing idle.

After brief discussions, enterprising people—V. Lavrov, chief of the oblast communications administration, and A. Yermakov, chairman of the oblast journalists' organization—set up the "Radiostantsiya Vedo" joint venture. As of today you can hear Larisa and her colleagues (incidentally, Andrey Bogdanov has worked at a U.S. commercial radio station) for 20 hours a day between 21.8 and 25.5 meters shortwave starting at 1900 Moscow time.

Those who had previously been the targets of the local jammers—Deutsche Welle and Voice of America—have expressed willingness to cooperate with the new commercial radio station. Radio Vedo and Larisa guarantee to provide music, advertising, independent news and comment, and replies to listeners' topical questions (several thousand letters had already arrived by broadcasting day). (endall) 21 may pp/airey/ml 21/1355z may

Vostok Commercial TV Starts Maritime Kray Broadcasts

LD2905103791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 2330 GMT 28 May 91

[Text] The Vostok commercial television company has entered the life of the people of Maritime Kray without noisy advertising and loud presentations. In the four-hour long entertainment and news broadcast the interests of citizens of all ages have been taken into account.

For the time being, broadcasting is preceeding in an expirimental regime, the aim of which is to run in the new transmitter and also to determine the number of consumers.

By the fall, the running-in period will be completed and then subscription to broadcasts for payment will be announced.

Youth Publications Feel Local Pressure

Printers Refuse To Print Krasnoyarsk Paper

91UN1442A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA
in Russian 5 May 91 pp 2-3

[Article by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA staff correspondent Vitaliy Pyrkh, Krasnoyarsk: "Publisher's Revenge"]

[Text] At the editorial office, they said: "This time, there is no problem with newsprint. The reason is different: Printers do not like our issues. It is the second newspaper in half a year that they have stopped..."

Isn't this something? Here is glasnost for you! In this kray seat, they are still gossiping about the first such conflict. During the past October holiday, "the youth newspaper" decided not to carry what it usually does. There were no performance reports in it which were particularly "glaring" given our half-empty stores, or other customary communications. Instead, journalists placed information which was far from celebratory on four pages. They opened the issue with the "cursed" notes by Ivan Alekseyevich Bunin.

After the issue had been typeset, and had reached the printing press, the improbable happened: Printers of the KRASNOYARSKIY RABOCHIIY publishing house refused to "put it through" the machine. They found Bunin's notes to be overtly poisonous; they did not like the manner in which the journalists put the holiday issue together, and the "pictures" they inserted...

Editor of the newspaper Aleksandr Nepomnyashchiiy appealed to common sense in vain: Is it not nonsense to edit the writings of the laureate of the Nobel Prize for literature in a kray newspaper so many decades later? In addition, there is the Law on the Press which clearly regulates the rights and duties of both sides. If the journalists have exceeded their authority the court should decide.

However, reasoning with the printers turned out to be a useless endeavor. Only the intercession of the kray party committee resolved the conflict: The "blasphemous" issue of KRASNOYARSKIY KOMSOMOLET was printed after all.

However, this episode left a bitter after taste. The conflict sort of split the readership into two segments. Some denied outright the right of the youth editorial office to have its own opinion about a notion as holy as

the October. They supported orally and in writing the vigilant printers who performed the uncharacteristic function of political censors. Others justifiably complained about how far "the censors in workers' overalls" may take it.

The editorial office kept up the argument: "Besides, if the publishing house of the party kray committee does not allow dissidence, why then does it print quite suspect publications so eagerly, such as the newspaper for men FAVORIT?"

I could have given any number of such examples myself. Not so long ago, the same printing presses of KRASNOYARSKIY RABOCHIY produced a two million (!) printing run of the ancient Indian treatise on love, "Kama Sutra," or more precisely, an ersatz of it; several dozens of the "most refined" text for nine rubles [R]—how is this different from a cooperative publication? However, he who takes "the masterpiece" in his hands will immediately see that the publication by Siberians is as far removed from the well-known Indian treatise, which is full of age-old wisdom and everyday observations, as the Ganges is from the Yenisey. Neither the paper shortage, nor the absence of printing capacities, nor censorship is a problem for the run-of-the-mill instructions on the "technology of sex" with which our enterprising operators have filled our bookshelves at a somehow astounding pace.

What about the printers? Did they raise their voices in defense of the morals of, say, their children when this "treatise" was being printed? Why did no one's hand turn off the printing press? Meanwhile, two million "Kama Sutra" are more than the one-time printing run of 250,000 KRASNOYARSKIY KOMSOMOLETS copies!

Still, at the time I would have liked to believe that the conflict between the "youth newspaper" and the local publishing house was absolutely random. It is just that adults "forgot themselves." Such things do happen... However, in a rule-of-law state, the law should prevail, and nothing but the law, rather than someone's attachments and taste. Have we already forgotten the angry and denunciatory letters of "common workers" who not so long ago stigmatized Pasternak and Solzhenitsyn? Will we allow this to happen again?

...As always, the issue of KRASNOYARSKIY KOMSOMOLETS for 7 March was typeset before the deadline. It was also given to the printers before the deadline; from then on, it was their business. At 2330, the phone rang in the apartment of newspaper editor A. Nenomnyashchiy: "We will not print your newspaper!"

Aleksandr told me: "I worked on the printers until 0200 hours, but they dug in their heels and refused to print. Director's order, they said."

You would agree that this was a strange situation: an act of arbitrariness—and 245,000 readers are left without a newspaper. What sowed confusion in the minds of the

printers this time? No matter how hard I tried, I did not find a trace of Bunin in this issue; it was not there. The picture of a girl on the first page (after all, the issue was published on the eve of the women's day) was as proper as they come, unlike those in other publications.

However, it turned out that I was not looking in the right place. Passions were inflamed because of a speech by Deputy V. Gitin at the last session of the kray soviet. The newspaper carried the text of this speech most prominently, together with a response to it by the printers signed by the chairman of the council of the labor collective of the publishing house, V. Savitskiy. I am not familiar with either Gitin or his opponents, but I have heard a lot about the situation to which their statements refer.

In short, this is the way the situation is: Two years ago, the kray executive committee transferred several dozen "structures," as they were entered in the documents, with furniture and assets, with air thick with the smell of needles, from its balance sheet to that of the KRASNOYARSKIY RABOCHIY publishing house, free of charge. These "structures" are situated at the most prestigious location in Krasnoyarsk, in a pine tree thicket on the bank of the Yenisey. The people called them "kray committee dachas," and a lot was said and written about them.

This transfer was because of pressure from public opinion—the aforementioned Krasnoyarsk newspapers—though very reluctantly: The corner of the world which the local functionaries selected for recreation was heavenly indeed. Initially, they allocated only some of the dachas for the future preventive treatment center "Printer," and hastily embarked on building a solid fence by a decision of the kray leaders in order to shut themselves off from "commoners." Subsequently, after both the first secretary of the kray committee and the kray executive committee chairman (incidentally, both are USSR people's deputies) gave up their state dachas, it was resolved to transfer everything else to the printers of the publishing house as well.

Work indeed got under way in earnest in the segment of the dachas that are more modest and of "lower rank." Pooling forces with their contributors—the kray committee of the trade union of culture employees and the associations Krasnoyarskugol and Sibtsvetavtomatika—the printers put in winterized lines for amenities: It was planned to operate the preventive treatment center all year round. However, the places where party secretaries and chiefs of departments of the kray party committees used to live continued to be quiet and deserted as dachas ought to. The luxury dachas stood empty. Only conifer needles and birch tree leaves were blown through the verandas. Only on rare occasions, little lights were turned on here and there. However, Director of the Publishing House Yu. Kondrashin was the only one to know who lived in these dachas and who visited them...

This is where I will allow myself a small digression: When the expensive and well-established dacha complex was transferred from one balance sheet to that of another organization, I started doubting whether this was legitimate from the point of view of common sense. All right, it was a publishing house, and a party publishing house at that; however, the dachas on the balance sheet belonged to the kray administration of communal facilities rather than the kray committee of the party? In general, what kind of an august gesture is it—to up and hand over to a new owner splendid two-story cottages, a beautiful canteen, a movie theater, a shop, an infirmary, and baths, by the mere stroke of a pen, one might say by a willful decision, without an extensive discussion, without taking into account the opinion of rank-and-file party members? Even if one gets an inheritance, he can have difficulty borrowing money to settle with the notary, but in this instance R3.5 million were involved just like this, on a handshake!

I admit that I kept silent at the time: All of us were intoxicated with the changes under way in our country. The workers were going to take advantage of so-called privileges, and this was good enough...

However, I read the speech by V. Gitin published by the youth newspaper, and I could not believe my eyes: It turned out that not all of the "nomenklatura" privileges went to the working class! The sale of the most prestigious dachas began, the very dachas which until recently were guarded better than one's own turf. I remember how citizens showered the editorial offices of local newspapers with letters about ways the so-called state dachas could be used: Give them to the disabled veterans of the Great Patriotic War (do they not deserve it?), or adapt them to receive foreign guests (not bad either—hard currency will be taken in), or organize a health maintenance center for children using them... What happened in reality?

As I read in Gitin's speech, dacha No. 19 was purchased by V. Ivanov, USSR people's deputy and chairman of the board of the kray union of consumer societies. A representative of trade, Director of the kray wholesale association Roskhozorg K. Zlygostayev, rather than a printer, became his neighbor. A member of the kray party committee, kray Procurator A. Moskalets and the chief of the state-legal department of the kray committee of the party G. Timakov, likewise far removed from printing interests, also decided to acquire prestigious real estate.

Here is a nice one for you! Here is "privatization" for you! However, it was not even this that astounded me and, perhaps, the kray soviet deputy himself, but the ease and the price at which ranking officials acquired these sought-after assets. For example, the aforementioned V. Ivanov, having gathered the best furniture from the vacant dachas, paid one-quarter of the state price for it, and his neighbor K. Zlygostayev had to fork over as much as R300 for furnishings which cost R1,315.

About the dachas themselves. The estimated cost of some of them is closer to R70,000. However, in total the buyers got them, in essence, for peanuts—for not more than R9,650 apiece.

I embarked on reading the response by the opponents with interest: After all, it is hard to object to obvious facts. I read the beginning of the response: "What astonishes us is not even malicious anticommunism (alas, it has become commonplace in the practice of our 'democrats') but rather the monstrous irresponsibility of Deputy V. Gitin." My God, what has this got to do with anticommunism and the "democrats?" After all, conventional ethical norms are at issue—immorality, which has bloomed in our impoverished and devastated country. Or is everything that affects my pecuniary interests anticommunist?

We have created a real nice "communism" for those who at present, during the seventh year of perestroika, manage to live according to the laws of the time of stagnation! No, hard as I tried, I did not find any anticommunism in the speech of V. Gitin. Besides, if V. Gitin were wrong, why would the printers not take the newspaper to court? Why prevent the publication of the newspaper?

Instead, they have lapsed into customary demagoguery in their actions and speeches. For example, the printers attributed the modest cost of "kray committee" dachas to "the structures being extremely old and dilapidated." Comrades, come off it! What do you mean by old and dilapidated? Two years ago, the kray committee dachas glistened in the sun as if they were toys. In general, the procedure was that every winter construction workers erected one more dacha cottage. How would slums appear here? Did party secretaries and kray leaders really live in these slums?

Had the publishing house sold just land rather than "the structures" which descended on it as a godsend, more money could have been generated. Beautiful air, thick pine tree woods, and forested mountains on the other bank of the Yenisey...

I am dwelling on all of these trifles in such detail only because I am convinced: The facts published by the newspaper are not the "spiciest" and "juiciest" that may be extracted from dacha-related topics. To my mind, it is much more interesting to track the path traveled by expensive furniture and imported video equipment from the so-called "restricted" sectors, and not just from them. Was it a random fact that the kray party newspaper KRASNOYARSKIY RABOCHIY recently published an article about the leaders of some rayons of the kray having somewhat peculiar notions of "privatization," which is getting under way in places, and beginning to purchase as their private property quite decent passenger cars at altogether ridiculous prices—R2,000 to R3,000?...

If we set this goal for ourselves, we may dig deeper... However, the journalists of the youth newspaper failed

to fool the vigilant printers even by publicizing generally known facts and giving the floor to both sides. The sacred words "We will not publish the newspaper!" were spoken again. While we honored our women, producing the gifts acquired ahead of time, Aleksandr Nepomnyashchii was on his way to the kray committee of the party. Once again, he tried to persuade them that he was right.

Representatives of the kray publishing house told him capriciously: "We do not like the title of the article 'Cottage Owners.'"

The editor agreed: "Fine, we will change the title."

"And what about the picture, that picture on page one? Can't you see that banner the people are carrying?"

"We will change the picture, too..."

It is easy to understand the editor: "The youth paper" rents even the premises for its personnel from the party publishing house. If its director Comrade Kondrashin, who was, after all, also mentioned in "Cottage Owners" unfavorably, gets angry and is offended, he will throw the intractable journalists out into the street, and that will be that.

Of course, they can invoke the Law on the Press and try to get a handle on the printers as well. However, where will they go later for printing services with this kind of circulation? Is it possible in our country at all? In what we were taught was a bourgeois England devoid of all rights, Margaret Thatcher could punish all the miners of the country at once for merely wanting to put themselves above the existing law. What about our country? Every monastery here has its own regulations, and every city has its demeanor. Do you remember Saltykov-Shchedrin?

Besides, who is going to uphold this law? Kray Procurator Moskalets? He is preoccupied with urgent concerns at present—the dacha season is upon us. If only he could take care of his own business...

Party, Komsomol Interfere in Lugansk, Minsk

91UN1442B Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 5 May 91 p 1

[Article by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondents V. Kosyak (Lugansk) and O. Yegorova (Minsk): "Rumors About Freedom of the Press Are Vastly Exaggerated as Long as the Fate of 'Youth Papers' Depends on the Dictates of Publishers"]

[Text] Lugansk—I recall how I, a novice in the newspaper business, was comforted by a senior colleague after an annoying typographical error occurred: "Don't you get cold feet, the main point is that we did the CPSU in all caps..." This was not only the main point but also convenient. If you do not cross a conventional line you can work in peace. They would forgive you for the rest

and correct it. Suddenly, there are these unusual conditions: Everything is possible. However, nobody put it like that. It is just that they stopped saying what cannot be done. This is not the same. The newspapermen who were the most eager to get to places where no member of the writing profession had set foot before were in a way given an opportunity to collect diamonds in a mine field. If they find diamonds, fine; if they hit a mine, better yet. The profession of journalists became particularly dangerous after someone proclaimed with inspiration: Perestroika is made by newspapers! Having overlooked the dirty trick, we took this as our due, and were even proud to be called foremen. Later, bricks began to run out on the perestroika project site, and the cheated owners of new apartments shook their fists threateningly: Just let me have a word with those foremen!

And so they did. After all, if the people demand it, they have to do something. They are now discussing in earnest in the Kremlin whether the Law on the Press is prompting the collapse of the country. This sudden insight is rolling to outlying localities in the form of a wave of directives. In Kiev, it reverberated through a memorandum of the Ideological Department of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee. Having fermented some, it assumed a visible outline: In Lugansk, Sergey Shtanko, editor of the local youth newspaper MOLODOGVARDEYETS, a live enemy of communism and socialism at the same time, was called on the disciplinary carpet, which at one point had been retired from service. The same pretext was used here as in the auditorium of the USSR Supreme Soviet—letters and appeals by citizens. To be sure, in Lugansk they were not sly and simplified the wording to sound like "public opinion in the ranks of the party."

"The ranks" turned out to be steadfast: It turned out that MOLODOGVARDEYETS provokes all social troubles and upheavals in the oblast. This newspaper "has actually become a forum for all public and political organizations and movements that are in opposition or come out against the CPSU..."

With which specific "subversive" actions did they charge the oblast "youth newspaper?"

This, for example: An article on the press conference of the first secretary of the oblast party committee "Toward the Future With Optimism?" had a question mark in the headline. "The article 'I Do Not Believe in the Party Any More' was accompanied by a picture of the party membership card with a carnation laid on it, expressing a transparent hint." "Criticism of Central Television and the Leadership of Kravchenko Is Noticeable." "In the article 'I Am in Favor of an Independent Youth Union' a response is given to Comrade Mironenko to the effect that he is in favor of an independent union which, among other things, may hold positions different from those of the CPSU."

The haste of reviewers from the city committee led to blunders. In the initial draft of the review, the article

"Yeltsin's Seven Planes" was mentioned among the heretical articles. It described... a former oblast committee instructor who took a passionate interest in model airplanes. Apparently, a researcher shocked by the title failed to take into account the fact that this could have been a namesake of the head of the government of Russia, the very mention of whose name the researcher considers impermissible.

In a word, apparently everything is clear as far as the anticommunist activities of MOLODOGVARDEYETS are concerned. However, I cannot dismiss this question: If members of the control commission of the city committee have truly determined what anticommunism is, why not explain to the young newspapermen what communism is, and how the youth newspaper must package this concept so that a 20-year-old would walk away from the VCR and get wrapped up in the primary sources of Marxism? Which model appears to be the most promising at present—according to Marx, according to Khrushchev, or perhaps, to Pavlov? I tried in vain for three hours to learn this from commission chairman V. Matyushev. In his opinion, a harsh political struggle is under way, and if they are not vigilant, the party is doomed. In short, such is the main argument of the Control Commission, as easy to understand as a pistol shot.

Those guilty of undermining the foundations—editor Shtanko, First Secretary of the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Youth Communist League] Oblast Committee Sergey Rekiyanov, and Secretary for Ideology Anatoliy Obratsov—were literally dragged to the city committee on alert. No explanations were taken into account. One of the members of the control commission queried the editor in passing about his salary: Is the number not too high?.. He responded himself: Shtanko carries out the orders of anticommunist forces, and not for free either. In general, this Shtanko "wormed his way into the party in order to do harm, and later to leave as a hero."

Sergey's heroic departure did not quite work out. He left the CPSU in a humdrum manner and, I would say, with regret. He said in his petition: "The demands made on me...are not in line with my journalistic, party, and civic positions in the form to which they have evolved."

It would appear that the disgraced editor may breathe with relief: He has made his choice. However, keeping one's views does not mean being kept. The aforementioned memorandum of the Ideological Department of

the Communist Party of the Ukraine proposes an effective prescription for such an eventuality—to excommunicate the obstinate from the system of party publishing houses. Another, less exacting partner with newsprint and printing equipment is quite a rarity, and not only in Lugansk. However, even if he came along, he would hardly take under his wing a publication which brings nothing but astronomical losses, given a circulation of only 14,000 and extortionist newsprint prices. This year, the founding agency, the oblast Komsomol committee, will have to work hard to scrape up financing. According to conservative calculations, the MOLODOGVARDEYETS will need as much as R300,000 in subsidies. What will they get in return? Moral satisfaction and complaints by the party leadership. This is the kind of, putting it frankly, risky load with which our proud "youth newspapers" are sailing into the stormy seas of a market economy. I would like to end this on an optimistic note, but I am having difficulty, because the question once put to the Lugansk editor—"What is more important: pluralism or the CPSU Statute?"—alas, is not rhetorical.

In Minsk Also

Minsk—The situation in Lugansk is not unique. On 24 April, the third plenum of the Belorussian Komsomol Central Committee was held, at which the editor in chief of the youth newspaper ZNAMYA YUNOSTI, Aleksandr Klaskovskiy, failed to be confirmed.

What is the reason? At first glance, it appears to be economics. This has to do with the fact that youth publications have become unprofitable because newsprint and the services of the Ministry of Communications have become more expensive. This is the motive for the decision of the Central Committee plenum to set up its own newspaper publishing concern, but on, to put it mildly, strange terms: Personnel policy will be the responsibility of the general director of the concern, which runs counter to the charter of the editorial office and the Law on the Press.

A group of editors in chief of the leading republic magazines and newspapers immediately rose to the defense of the collective of the youth newspaper. Nonetheless, the situation remains tense because many professional observers understand that they are trying to conceal political reasons behind economic ones, and to justify pressure brought to bear on a popular and democratic youth publication.

Features of Marx's Thought Relevant to Today

91UN1455A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 May 91
Second Edition p 3

[Article by K. Sidorov: "I Only Know That I Am Not a Marxist!"]

[Text] What do you think, whose are the words in the article's title? A modern "progressist" (with us today "their name is legion")? No, according to Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx observed in the 1870's, speaking about those who called themselves "Marxists": "I only know that I am not a Marxist!" Fair enough, the great man had the right to dissociate himself from his sincere but naive followers.

And how will we, today's followers, rush to disavow him, will we start to chase after fickle political fashion? Will we declare Marxism a harmful utopia?

Yes, we have become sick and tired of the many years of the force-feeding and dogmatism of the phrases: "topicality of the teaching," "greatest significance," "great scientific feat," "profound response".... And all this was repeated a thousand times over and knocked into us parrot-fashion, to the point of revulsion. And it was practically impossible to escape the mediocrity of such pedagogics. The cultural level of our people and their intellectual level were forcibly lowered. We recognize the legitimacy of the dislike of the dogmatism.

But let us try to investigate. The pedantic methods of teaching and verbal trumpery are not "Marxism." And neither was Marx, who in all his intellectual magnificence did not fit the customary mold, a "Marxist" in the vulgarized, commonplace, demeaning usage.

Our society is a world of extremes. It is ignominious for the thinking individual to run after an excited crowd and reiterate others' words. After all, even scientific opponents have acknowledged the tremendous contributions and insights of Marx in sociology and philosophy. This is what is being written in our day even by Z. Brzezinski, the celebrated adviser of American presidents: "Marxism represents a new, exceptionally important and creative stage in the formation of human philosophy. Marxism signifies a victory of the individual who has an active attitude toward the outside world over the passive, contemplative individual and at the same time a victory of reason over faith. Marxism gives pride of place to a systematic and strictly scientific study of material reality, as also to guidance of the action ensuing from this study." There is no serious book on philosophy and sociology published in the West, which is so respected in our country today, without references to Marx (albeit critical!). Marxism is a fact of world culture. You cannot have the song without the words, as they say.

Would it not be better to ask: What can Marx teach today, and what in his teaching is hopelessly outdated?

We recall Marx's well-known idea of history as a natural-historical process: "Society, even if it has stumbled

across the trail of the natural law of its development, ...can neither leap natural phases of development nor abolish the latter by decree. But it can lessen and alleviate the birth pangs," Marx wrote in the foreword to "Das Kapital." It was to lessen and alleviate the birth pangs of the new society that this book was written, by no means to justify bloodshed. Yes, society is a living organism developing according to objective laws. It is not a mechanism which may be refashioned at one's discretion. Unfortunately, the manipulation of social structures has become a rule of "Marxism."

Or let us take a most important concept of Marx's theory—that of ideology. If he finds behind the slogans, declarations, and appeals the hidden undeclared interests of particular social classes and groups, a person can then make his way in the complex Babel of present-day social life. But can we? Let everyone ask himself. After all, crude propaganda ideas have been substituted for the subtle set of instruments of Marxist analysis. Marx created the concept of class struggle. But it has no connection, of course, with the "intensification of the class struggle" slogan.

We recall also Marx's thoughts concerning the civilizing mission of capital and the creation of a world market. The history of mankind is changing from a series of local "histories" into one world history. Are the propositions of the new political thinking concerning the contemporary international order not rooted in Marx's theory and the concept of the historical unity of mankind substantiated by Marx? Simultaneously, how important it is to understand and assimilate the ideas profoundly characteristic of him concerning the diversity of the historical process and the different paths of the development of civilization. They help us today to recognize the richness of the world and our place in it.

Marx and Engels were calling in "The Communist Manifesto" for the creation of a world culture and for people to leave the "national stalls": "The fruits of the intellectual activity of individual nationals are becoming common property. National one-sidedness and narrowness are becoming increasingly impossible, and from a multitude of national and local literatures one world literature is taking shape."

Marx formulated for the first time the proposition concerning the conversion of science into a direct productive force. This hypothesis is being realized in the present-day scientific and technological revolution.

And, finally, is a society in which "the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all," a society of the social protection of the weak, the humiliated, and the insulted, not a reference point of progress for us? It is thus that Marx understood communism.

And one further Marxist tradition should be recalled. It was formulated by Franz Mehring, the junior friend of F. Engels: We must teach our young people to treat with indifference and scorn the attacks of the priests from the

Marxist parish. Let us preserve this tradition! On the basis of it we could continue the enumeration of Marx's intellectual victories.

But another series should be lined up also. The series of Marx's delusions born of the era, the level of his received information and his personal foibles, the series of illusions that have not come to be. All this also should be

discussed in PRAVDA. Not necessarily only today, his anniversary.

After all, our purpose is not to make Marx an idol or image. Let us preserve the author of "Das Kapital" as an intelligent interlocutor. We may argue with him, but there are things to learn from him also. Let us be Marxists without the quotation marks.

First Deputy Prime Minister Doguzhiyev on Chernobyl Measures

91WN0454A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 91
Special Edition p 1

[Excerpt from speech by Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, first deputy prime minister, at USSR Supreme Soviet session: "What Has Been Done and What Lies Ahead?"]

[Text] We will have to concentrate on two main objectives. The first is to move people out of polluted territories with a reading of 40 or more curie units. The second is to draft fundamental documents, starting with a theory of safe habitation.

As far as the first of these tasks is concerned, I must say that this was completed last year. All republics kept up with construction plans. The overall plan was fulfilled by 105 percent. State centralized capital investments financed the completion of 630,000 square meters of housing, which was equivalent to 108 percent of the plan. The plan for the construction of pre-school establishments, general educational schools, and out-patient clinics is being overfulfilled.

Special attention has been paid to the construction of facilities connected with the program of emergency measures for the resettlement of the inhabitants of territories contaminated by radioactivity. The housing that was completed for resettlement purposes amounted to 552,000 square meters, or 110 percent of the plan. Almost 88,000 people were resettled. You may recall that the target figure in the program was 29,000. All assignments were overfulfilled in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, and Belorussia.

Now I want to say a few words about the theory. It has been approved by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and is being implemented. What are its salient points? Whereas our earlier approach focused on the pollution of the territory, now we (just as all other countries) are using the radiation dosage as the main indicator. This will allow us to concentrate on reducing the dosage. This is what affects human health first.

There is one matter we should probably consider more carefully. We should not regard the resettlement of people as the only way of solving the Chernobyl problem. Moving is always stressful for people: They have to deal with the problems of getting used to a new place and giving up old habits. We have to give people a chance to make the decision to move on their own. From the standpoint of science and of experience throughout the world (and we are making use of all this experience), there is no need to move people out of territories with under 15 curie units.

The main consideration, of course, is the state of people's health. Whatever figures we cite and whatever topics we discuss, this has always been our primary concern. The data of epidemiological studies and clinical observations indicate certain negative tendencies in the

state of the health of the population of these regions. We have discovered several abnormalities that could be connected not only with improved diagnostic techniques, but also with the adverse effects of various factors related or unrelated to radiation. The latter category includes changes in the customary way of life and diet. It is particularly important to consider the protracted mental and emotional strain produced by the stressful situation in this zone. In virtually all of the monitored regions there was a higher rate of iron deficiency anemia, caused by a faulty diet and a shortage of the protein and the fresh vegetables and fruit serving as sources of vitamins.

An analysis of the physical complaints of the people living in the zone still has not, however, revealed any of the features characteristic of direct exposure to radiation. The directory compiled in accordance with a decree of the Supreme Soviet contains medical data on 576,000 people who were exposed to radiation as a result of the accident, including 226,000 members of the clean-up crews, and we know that there were more than half a million of them.

Members of clean-up crews were given supplementary medical examinations in 1990. Some 21 regional inter-departmental boards of experts were set up in 10 republics to determine the cause-and-effect relationship between the clean-up operations and subsequent illnesses and disabilities.

The establishment of ultrasonic diagnostic and endoscopy offices in central rayon hospitals in the monitored zones was completed in 1990. The network of diagnostic centers and endocrinological departments and laboratories is growing.

Last year the USSR Ministry of Health distributed extra medicines to the republics in addition to the initial supplies for the population of these zones. We cannot call the supply of medicine for the inhabitants of the zones completely satisfactory, however. It is above the union or republic average, but it still does not cover 100 percent of the demand.

There has been little progress in the construction of new production units and the enlargement of existing capacities manufacturing vitamins, dietary supplements, and other special food products for the population of the accident zone. Although a special program has been drawn up and the funds for it have been secured, the work is being conducted too slowly.

The derivation of high-quality agricultural products from polluted territories is still just as important. How are things going in this sphere? A variety of agrotechnical and agrochemical measures have been taken, as a result of which the potatoes and vegetables grown throughout the zone fall within the current permissible pollution limits, and the content of radioactive substances in grain crops has been reduced to one-fifth or one-sixth of the previous amount. The radioactive cesium content of

crops, including vegetables and fruit, grown on territories with pollution levels of up to 40 curie units per square kilometer effectively does not exceed the international standard. Today people in all parts of the zone have learned to adjust the diet of livestock in such a way that the pollution level of meat will not exceed the permissible limit. Meat containing more than the permissible amount of radioactive cesium is found only in livestock slaughtered prior to the completion of the pre-slaughter feeding routine. According to data for 1990, the quantity of this meat did not exceed a limit measured in hundredths of a percent. The maximum was 0.09 percent in Gomel Oblast. In 1990, meat exceeding the current permissible pollution level in all of the polluted territories of Belorussia amounted to only 0.01 percent of the total 784,000 tons of livestock in slaughter weight.

The radiation levels of agricultural products in the country are monitored by more than 1,200 radiological laboratories. This is enough to secure strong quality control in the state sector.

Measures have been taken to increase the output of household devices for dosimetric radiological monitoring so that people can assess the level of radiation in their place of residence, employment, and leisure. Whereas we had around 7,000 of them in 1989, more than 240,000 were already being produced in 1990, and this year republic requisitions will be covered by the production of an additional 700,000-750,000 devices, which should cover the initial demand. These were the assignments set by the concerned ministry.

Ukrainian Energy Minister Reflects on Chernobyl, Rejects New Nuclear Plants

91WN0446A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
27 Apr 91 p 2

[Article by Vitaliy Sklyarov, UkSSR minister of energy and electrification: "The Chernobyl AES: Where Is the Truth?"]

[Text] The fifth anniversary of the day of the Chernobyl disaster has already arrived. I will say straight away that I had not intended to time my press piece to appear on this tragic date. And in general I feel that now there is sense in troubling the radioactive ghost of Chernobyl only in those cases where some sort of unknown circumstances are being made public, knowledge of which may help prevent such accidents in the future. As to everything else, what can be said? Those who were to blame have already gotten theirs, and those who distinguished themselves have been rewarded in a befitting manner.

Yet all the same there still appear publications whose authors are hardly looking into the unprecedented disaster for the sake of the future. Old arguments and convictions which had seemed forever buried under the Chernobyl dust are sometimes resurrected. For example, there appeared not too long ago an interview with Academician A.P. Aleksandrov; for the umpteenth time,

it blames only the AES [nuclear electric power station] personnel for the accident. As an eyewitness to these events, one who worked at the scene of the accident during the first days after the reactor's explosion, I cannot but express my attitude toward this dubious, and to put it simply, immoral version.

For the sake of appearance, Anatoliy Petrovich cites the following comparison: "You're driving a car, and you turn the wheel the wrong way—an accident! Is it the motor's fault? Or the auto designer's fault? Anybody would say, 'It's the fault the unqualified driver.'"

On a superficial level, this is very intelligible, even for amateurs. Unfortunately, however, this simile does not reveal the truth. It's one thing that a car bears about as much resemblance to a reactor as a sheaf-binding machine does to the supersonic Concorde. Even a theoretical car cannot be getting more gas while the brake pedal is being pressed, but something like this happened with the reactor. But more on that a little later.

It bears recalling that the official version of the reasons for the disaster, formulated not without the participation of certain individuals concerned, sounded like this: "The primary cause of the accident was the highly improbable combination of violations of the order and regime of utilization permitted by the power unit personnel."

Such an unintelligible explanation immediately caused doubts as to its credibility. Nor was it taken seriously abroad. "The Foreign Press on the Chernobyl Accident and its Consequences," a 1987 informational report asserts that "Differing from the official Soviet point of view, English specialists consider the fundamental cause of the Chernobyl accident to be a construction deficiency, and not the human factor. They consider the erroneous actions of the operators to be a contributing cause." American specialists underscore that the very system for stopping the reactor is capable of causing a power surge.

Unfortunately, the framework of a newspaper publication does not allow the situation to be depicted with all the necessary details. Thus I propose at least running through a few of the most serious violations which are most frequently used to incriminate the station operations personnel.

We begin with the basic accusation: the emergency reactor cooling system (SAOR) had been taken off-line, that is, the reactor was seemingly defenseless, and thus was damaged. Anatoliy Petrovich exclaims, "The AES operated for 11 hours with SAOR shut down! As if a devil were in charge and preparing an explosion!" I do not take it upon myself to judge evil forces, since I'm no specialist, but SAOR, as its name indicates, was conceived to ensure the cooling of an undamaged reactor, and is of help, at best, in the event of a ruptured pressure collector pipe.

In this situation, the conditions for engaging the cooling system arose already after the destruction of the reactor.

Incidentally, the executive organs of defense were also incapacitated by the explosion. Yet even if the system had worked, there was simply nothing to cool—the reactor had already ceased to exist.

Thus, the SAOR defense could have worked only after the explosion, when the reactor had already been destroyed and the disaster had occurred. Consequently, the system could neither have prevented the disaster, nor lessened its consequences in any way.

As far as the possibility of certain other defenses having been shut down, even in the event of the violations that were permitted, these would have had no effect whatsoever on the final result.

The power acceleration and reactor explosion occurred under totally normal staffing conditions for utilization, when there were no grounds for erroneous actions of the operating personnel, and I will be so bold as to assert that they committed none. In addition, they functioned competently and selflessly. Suffice it to recall how people stopped and preserved in their entirety the first, second, and third units, under incredible conditions.

It can be stated with a reasonable degree of certainty that not one of the violations cited, nor others of which the operating personnel are accused could have been, either singly or together, the primary cause of the accident, nor could they have seriously affected its scale and course of development.

I would take this occasion to touch upon another aspect. Since the Chernobyl disaster, rally passions have boiled constantly around other AES's as well; all sorts of demonstrations and boycotts are being organized. Not infrequently, strong pressure is being exerted on the AES operators, which is absolutely impermissible. In no way should a negative attitude toward nuclear power be transferred to AES personnel. This accomplishes nothing other than to create tension and nervousness in their lives, and consequently, will only increase the likelihood of errors capable of leading to a new disaster.

Let us return, however, to the Chernobyl accident. Its basic cause lies in the defective construction of the apparatus created on the basis of an erroneous concept of reactor safety. That concept allowed only for the maximum projected accident, associated with an explosion of the largest diameter pipe system. And mathematical assessment of the degree of risk of accidents outside of these projections, even up to damage of the active zone and the discharge of fuel, were stubbornly ignored.

This is where the roots of the principal errors permitted in the reactor design and construction lie. We can assume that during those stages, the scientific and technological project directors had noble intentions, trying to save the people's money. And here we add constrained technological opportunities and pressing state deadlines... Thus, it was as if fatal errors had been programmed in by the impermissibly low "safety expertise" at all levels of nuclear technology, and by our constant

attempts to economize on things. And as we know, a miser pays double. And we have paid immeasurably, for we are speaking about human lives.

And there had been more than enough grounds to be concerned about AES safety. Here is one of them. Not many people know that one and one-half years before 26 April there had occurred damage to the technological channel of the first unit of the Chernobyl AES, requiring its localization through the construction of a leaden mini-sarcophagus. At that time, the fuel was partially discharged, but the majority was buried in this same sarcophagus. A Chernobyl in miniature? Immediately at that time, this should have shaken up all our science, along with the designers. Yet nothing of the sort happened; they did not heed the formidable warning.

The chain of miscalculations, gross errors, and criminally incompetent decisions was not broken after the reactor explosion. We recall how the scope of the disaster that had occurred was reduced, and the fundamental problem of the early restoration of the electric power station's functional readiness was promoted; how a great number of young men were drawn into cleaning up the accident; a heroic hullabaloo was raised.

And, for example, who will answer for the irradiation of the multitude of people who were immediately next to the center of radiation without any particular need to be?

No one is answering for all this!

...The Chernobyl tragedy took us by surprise. It happened at a time when we associated our energy future exclusively with the development of nuclear power. That is why, immediately after the accident, the power engineers of the Ukraine had to undergo very difficult, purely professional trials, which of course were scarcely noticeable against the background of common misfortune. Now it is already quite clear that the republic's power engineering had long been in an extraordinarily difficult situation that could be described as a nuclear-coal balance at an impasse.

The way out of this critical situation is not being clearly analyzed within power engineering to this day. Because of the obstinacy of opposing forces, we have already lost several years, maneuvering between the hopes of the powers that be for society's "enlightenment" for the cause of AES's, and the furious popular opposition to nuclear ambitions.

In effect, because of the short-sighted policy of forcibly pushing through nuclear power stations and retarding the development of other sources, the coming energy hardships have been predetermined.

The introduction of new energy capacities for our country has been ludicrous in recent years. In fact, neither is anything being done to radically alter the structure of consumption and inculcation of power-saving technologies. They assert that there is no alternative to AES's, and everything is being done so that there

will be no alternative at all. And the almost unhidden ears of nuclear power stick out from under the hat of each statistic of possible power calculations.

A situation is consciously being created in which society must come to a choice: either nothing, or nuclear power. Due to the fact that gargantuan amounts of money and resources have been invested in the development of nuclear power, we are decades behind the world level in other areas of energy. And this lag is growing with catastrophic and progressive speed.

It is necessary to summon up the courage to simply state: There will be no new nuclear power stations in the Ukraine! There are other paths to build up the necessary energy capacities. There should be reliance upon wide use of steam-gas installations, which hold a number of substantial economic and ecological advantages by comparison to the aggregates currently in operation. In view of the conversion, the enterprises of the defense complex may be involved in this cause, but at the same time it is necessary to enter into international cooperation and find the resources for purchasing energy equipment abroad.

It is time to move nontraditional energy forward, to get a practical return from it. I have in mind using the energy of the wind, small rivers, the Sun, and geothermal waters. The Ukraine has been generously endowed with these resources. And in the long term, steady energy systems may be built only on the basis of renewable, ecologically irreproachable sources of energy.

Time must not be lost. Collectives of construction workers, assemblers, and designers of ineffective AES's must be diverted immediately to other energy facilities. And other decisions must be made, always remembering that the people will never forget Chernobyl.

USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Sees Future in Nuclear Power

91WN0446B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
26 Apr 91 p 2

[Interview with Konstantin Ivanovich Masik, first deputy chairman, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, by Aleksandr Sokol: "A Reminder of a Sad Anniversary"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] Konstantin Ivanovich, it has been five years since the day the Chernobyl disaster burst forth. The attitude toward Chernobyl and evaluations of it have changed significantly, especially of late. What can you say about the position of the state, of Government actions, on two levels, both the union and republic levels?

[Masik] As you know, what happened in Chernobyl was originally labeled an accident; then they carefully spoke of the atom getting out of control. Today, this terrible disaster has taken on its true name—this is a catastrophe. That, perhaps, says it all.

The past five years have shown that the Chernobyl tragedy is not the sort of one you can attack and quickly set right. It is generally known that during the ominous days after the accident the theoretical physicists at times did not know what to expect from the exploded reactor. Unfortunately, even today the forecasts, ours and foreign ones, are contradictory in many ways. Yet scientists are in agreement on one thing: Chernobyl is a disaster for all mankind, a tragedy for hundreds, even thousands of years for millions of people.

This is from where it should have begun, from the earliest, for each issue! Unfortunately, only the past one and one-half years have they started to function this way. There were many Chernobyl resolutions from the USSR Council of Ministers, the republic government—on the evacuation of people and compensation for the losses they had suffered, on protecting the Dnepr waters, on building a "cover" over the destroyed AES [nuclear electric] power unit; later, on moving residences from the contaminated regions, on privileges for the victims. Gargantuan efforts were undertaken to ameliorate the Chernobyl disaster. Yet they were not in all ways the measures that the circumstances required.

The situation has changed recently. The USSR Supreme Soviet has discussed the Chernobyl problems twice, last year and just recently. The republics have taken up Chernobyl more boldly and on a broader level. Both we and our Belorussian [syabry] have made most important state decisions on Chernobyl. The package of Ukrainian laws is well known: on the concept of safe residence within the territory with increased levels of radioactive contamination, on the status of such territories, on the status of citizens who have suffered. Some sort of imperfections could probably be found in these documents, but these do not hold the essence. The essence is that the laws adopted in the republic reflect the existing situation; they are adequate to the tragedy we call Chernobyl.

[Correspondent] On which of these documents, which of their statutes should attention be focused?

[Masik] As far as the documents are concerned, the point of departure is the concept of safe residence in the areas with radiation contamination. This law, as we are wont to say, is the main one and it genuinely protects Chernobyl victims, all of them, both those who suffered earlier and those suffering now.

The concept of L. Ilin and his supporters previously in effect, the crux of which is 35 rems over a lifetime, was conditional. And typically, it has not been officially confirmed anywhere. Yet it was insistently considered binding. Such actions have been evaluated as inhumane, to put it mildly. The approach legalized by the republic Supreme Soviet proposes seven rems over a lifetime. We consider any irradiation leading to an excess of the dose received from the natural radiation background to be dangerous to man, and must be eliminated. Such an understanding of the problem presupposes the highest level of medical services, and the same level of control

over a person's health, providing him with "clean" food products, and production safety, above all in agricultural activity. If it is impossible to achieve all this, they there is only one way out—to resettle to clean regions.

The second aspect on which I would like to pause is this. Both our laws and the Belorussian laws have finally given the Chernobyl victims comprehensive legal defense. Unfortunately, before these laws, there had been none, over the course of five years.

The resolutions that were adopted earlier concerned one or several problems, and sought to minimize state expenditures. We took a different route. But I will be frank: I foresee colossal difficulties on the path toward realization of the republic laws.

[Correspondent] What are these difficulties?

[Masik] Just one thing: Where to get the money needed to cover the expenses associated with the realization of these laws. Speaking at a session of the republic Supreme Soviet, I said that the Chernobyl laws cost R5.187 billion. I won't begin to describe the budget possibilities; the budget deficit is well known. The crisis in the economy is also well known. The poorly considered price increases undertaken by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers has exacerbated the situation. In particular, strikes have broken out. And after all, money can only be earned...

A union law on Chernobyl is now being considered. In connection with this, I was recently in Moscow; I addressed a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. They are reproaching the Ukraine, and severely. First Deputy Prime Minister V.Kh. Doguzhiyev spoke from the high tribune that we hurried with the laws, that we placed the Union in a difficult position. But there can be no agreement with that. The Chernobyl victims can wait no longer, neither in the Ukraine, nor in Belorussia, nor in the RSFSR. Both we and the Belorussians have been forced to adopt the appropriate laws. After all, five years have passed since the accident!

[Correspondent] Do our laws differ from the Belorussian ones, particularly in the amount of the privileges?

[Masik] In principle, they are similar. But there is a difference, a small one. Incidentally, that's how it must be. Conditions in the Ukraine and Belorussia are not identical; certain divergences are natural.

[Correspondent] Can you say which concrete statutes of the Ukrainian laws are causing the disagreement from the center?

[Masik] The center disagrees with an entire range of privileges. There they feel that the republic has overstepped all bounds, for example, by stipulating payment to those residing under contamination conditions from 1 to five curies per square meter, even though everyone understands that protection from radionuclides requires supplemental funds. The compensation to enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhoses that have lost their basic funds as a result of the accident is causing objection. Yet how

are these collectives going to live under market conditions? It's not through their own fault they have lost all their property dug up over many years.

Our position is simple: the victims, whether "clean up workers," evacuees, or the resettled receive full compensation from the state. Compensation for the damage done to their health, their lost property, the move to a new place and getting set up there; compensation for the additional expenses incurred by residing within contaminated territory. It's time to profess humanism not only in words but in deeds.

Incidentally, according to information from Moscow, the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Ecological Issues will bring the Chernobyl draft law up for a second reading. Many statutes of the Ukrainian and Belorussian laws are taken into consideration in this draft law. There will be the usual decisive debates. We are in favor of making the laws on Chernobyl a priority.

[Correspondent] Konstantin Ivanovich, the Ukraine is putting substantial effort into reducing by one year the center-defined period for resettling people who were in the contaminated territory. The number of people eligible for resettlement will grow with the republic's adoption of the new concept of safe residence. How is this problem being resolved?

[Masik] As you know, about 15,000 people were resettled in 1990, and the resettlement of 14,800 families, approximately 36,000-38,000 people, is proposed for this year. I have these figures in my heart. We face an enormous volume of work! Plus the current situation in the economy. And a completely new problem has made itself keenly felt—cost increases in the construction complex. According to specialist, prices have increased three-four fold, and the union organs are increasing the previously stipulated allocations by a factor of 1.6, and they say that since the situation has worsened there in the republic, you look for extra resources at home. I have already spoken of our budget deficit; I won't repeat myself. But I would just like to say this. The republic government will do everything possible to solve this problem.

I would also like to touch upon the national and state communities—I have in mind collective construction of housing for the resettlers. The bricklayer, the work superintendent, the trust director, the minister, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, everyone must understand that a concentration of efforts, of the science and technology potential of the entire republic is required. Otherwise we will not master the task that has been raised. I appeal once more to the leaders of Dnepropetrovsk and Zaporozhye oblasts: Understand the pain of Chernobyl, don't look for reasons for refusal; build, assist, just like all the other oblasts of the republic. In this matter, the order of precedence is criminal.

In its time, thousands of people went into the breach of Chernobyl. They were defending not just the nearby territories. Everyone should know this. They should

know this and make the best contribution they can to overcome this disaster, the likes of which mankind had not yet known.

[Correspondent] Not infrequently, there is speculation going on over the Chernobyl problems. This was especially noticeable during the elections, and the same thing can be encountered even now. What can you say on this subject?

[Masik] Such actions are disgusting. It is simply criminal to speculate on human grief, especially such as Chernobyl, to achieve one's narrow political goals by such means. Sooner or later, the people will figure it all out, and will give those who reveled in declarations and did practically nothing their due. I don't envy the fate of such people. Damnation awaits them.

[Correspondent] Since the Chernobyl disaster, people's attitude toward nuclear technology, and above all toward nuclear power plants has changed radically. Not infrequently, an AES is perceived to be a continuation of Chernobyl. Those living near AES's, and not only they, are going to extremes; they are prepared to wipe the plants off the face of the earth. At the same time, departments and many specialists persuade, with a pre-Chernobyl lack of concern, that an AES is almost a blessing, that it holds no dangers. What is the attitude of the republic leadership toward this? What do you personally think?

[Masik] As you know, the republic Supreme Soviet and government have taken a hard line: A five-year moratorium has been imposed on the construction of all new nuclear power units. A resolution on shutting down the Chernobyl AES was adopted this year. In 1993, 1994, and 1995, all three working units will be shut down.

By specialty, I am mechanical engineer; I am not a nuclear physicist, therefore I would not like to get involved in a discussion. Yet the information I have on this problem, and it is top-notch information, allows me to say this.

As we know, 15 nuclear power units are functioning in the Ukraine. Such a saturation without deep scientific expert studies, without accruing the necessary experience is impermissible. It is also undisputed that a RBMK [reaktor bolshoy moshchnosti kanalnyy] cannot be called safe in its operation. Therefore it is not without grounds that such apparatus alarm people.

The conclusion is obvious: The policy that has been conducted by the Government, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Academician A.P. Aleksandrov cannot be continued. But that cannot be the end to it.

The Ukraine does not possess the needed quantity of fuel. We have practically just coal, and the structure of industry is such that an expansion of power capacity is required. Where can we get this capacity? They say we can purchase natural gas and oil. But when will the republic have the hard currency for that!

I believe in science, and I hope that over the course of five years there will appear here reliable, I emphasize, reliable reactors, and that they will become integrated, after hundreds of tests, hundreds of expert consultations with foreign scientists and specialists. Chernobyl must not be repeated.

[Correspondent] I recall how one year after the Chernobyl explosion, the school seniors who moved from Prip'yat to Kiev arranged to gather on Kreshchatik Street and commemorate the "day of the atom." They were persuaded not to do it. On more than one occasion, the wish of adults to note the sad anniversary has been hindered. How are things today?

[Masik] Unfortunately, what you describe did happen. Now, this date is commemorated on the state level. An official organizing committee has been created; I have been entrusted to head it. A range of measures is provided for, including a TV-radio marathon, a scientific practicum conference with the participation of foreign scientists, a requiem rally, and others.

The purpose of the planned actions is to remember those who struggled in Chernobyl, who died, to help as much as possible those who are suffering from the radiation, to unite forces to protect all those who have suffered, and to prevent another Chernobyl. I am impressed by the appeal of the public organizations to the political parties to bring the raging political passions to a halt for that time, not to exploit the national misfortune in the political struggle.

Radiation Concerns in Chelyabinsk-65 Research Center Examined

91WN0448A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 20 Apr 91 First Edition p 6

[Article by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent L. Leonov, Chelyabinsk-65: "A Measure of Secrecy: the Today and Tomorrow of a 'Closed City'"]

[Text] "Sometimes people dream of the blue cities... Who does not remember the songs about the new cities—Ust-Ilim, Bratsk, Strezhevoy? But a good ten or so of the new projects from those years do not appear on any map, even the most detailed ones. They truly have no names, although they have existed for decades.

These are the "atomic cities." Soviet atomic weapons were built here in a terrible hurry and with unprecedented intensity. One such city lies 100 kilometers from Chelyabinsk, at Lake Irtyash.

The residents themselves call it simply the "city," sometimes "our city." Others know it more by its postal code, at first "Chelyabinsk-40" and now "Chelyabinsk-65." The official name, Ozersk, which was established in 1954, did not take hold, although it reflects the characteristics of this swampy lake district.

The old part of the city with its small standard wooden cottages and two-story detached stone houses is almost in the forest. But the city also has its new suburban areas containing nine-storey buildings on the shores of the Irtyash with mountain views.

The discussion about good and evil is the keynote in all the articles published about "the ban." The city and the Mayak Chemical Combine, which is located here, did not manage to "open up a bit" as they should have and ended up in the thick of a political struggle which is dividing society.

"Isolation from the world did not work to the advantage of the atomic cities. Despite all the good quality construction, they produce an impression of not being cared for, of profound provincialism and neglect," one Moscow guest wrote in a magazine after a trip he had taken there.

And this is about the city which was the first in the Southern Urals to receive television and which after the war had a symphony orchestra, something which the oblast center still does not have. The city has a working theater and music school, as well as more doctors of science per square meter than Moscow University. But there you have it: "provincialism" and "neglect."

In the city a correspondent came across a preschool complex called "Zhemchuzhina" (Pearl), which any capitalist might envy: it had computer classrooms, a swimming pool and a winter garden. But the correspondent brushed it aside: "Although all this, undoubtedly, is done for the children, what comes across is an element of show, which previously was universally accepted among us but now exists only in special preserves." The residents of the "preserve"—we shall leave this little word on the conscience of A. Guber from NOVOYE VREMYA—find it incomprehensible and offensive: why does a person see white and write black?

And how these "democratic" journalists get things twisted when they try to deal with more complex questions! Questions such as these: why do the restrictive conditions still exist; why is the restriction on the city not removed? How should the activities of the Mayak Chemical Combine over four decades be judged, and does it have a future? Should a nuclear electric power station [AES] be built next to the combine?

The questions are many, and they are controversial and very complex. But the answers which they try to give to them are primitive to an offensive degree.

Take secrecy, "secret-mania." Of course, the city's present regime of secrecy is not determined by a desire to eat one's fill of chocolate in secret—it has not been available anywhere for a long time. But special conditions are present here. Have accidental or intentional acts to destroy the nuclear installations—under conditions of free access—been ruled out?

Today the source of radioactivity has been separated from the main production unit by a triple fence with a monitoring strip around it. Along with the industrial complex, it is isolated from the city by still another barrier, and then it is cordoned off with the city as well. Triple protection.

But will the city be open? In the first place, a protective zone will have to be built around the unenclosed radioactive bodies of waters—this will cost 20-25 million rubles. In the second place, this winter for the first time in decades Lake Kyzyltash froze. Five military reactors were shut down. The waters from a non-freezing lake were cooling them, but they themselves began to heat up. In these hothouse conditions the fish began to grow to unbelievable sizes. The lake is swarming with fish, but they cannot be eaten. And who will guarantee that some enterprising members of a cooperative will not begin to sell these "gifts" of Kyzyltash in Chelyabinsk or Sverdlovsk if they open up the city?

I agree that there is secrecy and there is secrecy. As in everything, moderation is necessary here. At one time they did not even permit people to change their last names when they got married. It is absurd that now, when Japanese and Americans come to visit, the floor-lady at the hotel can see here granddaughter only once every three years.

"However, the capitalist masters are keeping their secrets," noted V. Fetisov, the director of Mayak. "We know this and do not intend to bare our entire soul to the first passer-by. But questions of contact between employees and their relatives I decide positively. Given all the shortages, this is the one thing which the director of the combine can permit himself."

In its first years the combine had a "Blue Book" describing the manufacturing process for separating plutonium from uranium. One was allowed to read it in a special office and only that section which one needed. The book contained no stolen American secrets; on the contrary, our secrets were hidden in it. Uranium was called "product-9," alpha radiation was called the "first expenditure," radioactive fragments were called "dew," and so on.

It is difficult to say how much we held up the development of science and technology by this Aesopian language, but I would like to describe one loss, which the non-specialist can understand.

Today they drink their own milk in the city and they eat their own cottage cheese and vegetables. Thus the atomic workers are not completely the parasites that some people love to depict them as being. The Mayak Workers Supply Administration has two sovkhoses. They are located at a considerable distance, over 100 kilometers away. The combine received them in a terrible state and revived them in a short period of time. And how it revived them! The live weight production cost of beef at the sovkhoses is 2 rubles 22 kopecks per kilogram. They get 3,800 kg of milk from each cow, which is much more

than the average indicator for the oblast. They obtain 26 centners of grain on average. The city residents participate in agricultural work as the main labor force; they do not have to be "prodded" into the fields. They understand that what they harvest is what they will eat.

Their experience is interesting but little studied due to the secrecy. And that is a pity.

Yes, Mayak left a hemorrhaging, or to put it more accurately a noiselessly mutilating radioactive trail on the Urals landscape. In 1957 there took place what the people called the "northern lights over Kyshtym" (Kyshtym is an ancient city not far from Mayak). One of 16 storage facilities for liquid radionuclides exploded, and a narrow radioactive trail, like a sword, contaminated the soil and water over dozens of kilometers to the east of the combine. In the 1967 drought the bank of the radioactive Karachay became bare, and wind scattered the dangerous dust. About half a million people suffered in one way or another from these catastrophes. Due to the secrecy many people did not even know that they were at risk. They were not warned.

The ecological situation which exists today in the area around the Mayak Combine arouses concern. And will the waters of the Karachay, which is now being filled in, suddenly penetrate the water-supply system? Nor are they hiding from people the danger that during the spring flooding the contaminated bodies of water may one day overflow and rush into the Techa River.

"But who was to know that it would turn out this way?" asks A. Suslov, the chief engineer at Mayak. We were counting on the river water to dilute the concentration of radionuclides to a safe level. But we did not take into account, we simply did not know, that the radioactivity would be swallowed up by the bottom silt, that it would bind up and concentrate (rather than dilute) two million curies of radioactivity in the upper course of the river. The academicians of those times knew as much about the atom as ninth-graders do today.

The community was poorly informed about a similar mistake which was made before us by the Americans. Having built their gigantic plants in Hanford, they dumped radioactive water into the powerful Columbia River, which is comparable to our Volga. Jean-Francois Ogero, a journalist who visited Mayak wrote in the French newspaper LE MONDE: "In America, which did not by any means display a model attitude toward the environment in the 40's and 50's, similar problems have now arisen in the areas where military nuclear centers are located, as for example at Hanford, which the entire world press wrote about recently."

Our community was not told what the world press was writing. Nor was it told that the ecological protection of atomic factories is a worldwide problem. The Techa incident is being significantly inflated. And, naturally, the CPSU is the culprit in all of it.

Newlyweds bring flowers to the Kurchatov monument near the Mayak administration building while a journalist from IZVESTIYA notes with irony: a family begins with a gesture of recognition to the creator of the atom bomb.

But is the blood from the surgeon's scalpel, for example, really his "output?" No, his "output" is the person's health. In the same way Mayak's output is not plutonium for a bomb, nor is it radioactive waste. Mayak's output is peace. And it has been for nearly half a century now. And who will undertake to determine the price of peace? In rubles? In dollars? In human lives? For the peaceful day of 9 May the country placed on the altar of victory tens of millions of her sons and daughters.

Somehow my fellow countrymen who now revile the chemical combine have forgotten too easily that the list of first atomic-bomb targets in our country includes Chelyabinsk.

"It is sad, but a fact that we seriously underestimated the Russians' potential," wrote R. Lapp, one of the creators of the American bomb, as long ago as 1953, "because we wanted to push farther into the future the time when we would have to worry about the Russian atomic bomb."

It is they, who are now despised, the well-known and the unknown Mayak workers, alive and dead, who forced them to worry about the Russian bomb. But now everything is being presented in such a distorted way!

"The chemical combine is sucking out our intellectual forces..." And, after all, Mayak did in fact become the nuclear specialists' largest factory in the entire country, with the best personnel; that is recognized universally. And they began from scratch. The intellectual forces were sucked out by the war, and then by another war—the internal one. It was ordinary women, who had not gone to university, who, figuratively speaking, held the first plutonium in their hands, women like L. Sokhina, who subsequently became a doctor of chemical sciences.

I was at the Karachay and got to talking with V. Svezhentsev, the driver of a lead-protected KrAZ (Kremchug Automobile Plant) vehicle. For 12 years he has been filling in this terrible lake. He has a dosimeter attached to his white jacket. "It takes" two REMs every year. His pay is 220 per month. In the summer he struggles to breathe in the heat of the unventilated lead cab. He says simply: "And who except us is going to bury this contamination?"

And, indeed, Mayak was left face to face with trouble. In September of last year the RSFSR Supreme Soviet examined the radio-ecological condition of the republic and appropriated a billion rubles to those who had suffered. But Chelyabinsk Oblast was not even mentioned in that document.

And those who demand that Mayak be strangled, is that how they understand the situation?

Construction of the AES was blocked at the insistence of public opinion in the oblast. It was intended to be part of the complex with Mayak, completing the chain of atomic transformations into peaceful electrical energy. And the oblast has an enormous shortage of power. But the referendum held recently in Chelyabinsk said "no" to the atomic power station.

They saw in the AES above all a way for the military industrial complex to protect itself and retain its personnel, etc. And indeed, it was difficult for the combine after the five defense reactors were shut down. But it overcame these difficulties. Not a single specialist was laid off. Moreover, the combine now has about 500 vacancies. The conversion process is expanding. And it did not begin today or even yesterday but as long ago as 1962, when the isotope plant was started up. Fiber optics, radiation monitoring equipment, permanent batteries for an "artificial heart," new materials and stronger plastics—that is only a partial list of conversion products. Last year they provided the combine with a million dollars.

Thus the AES is not at all a means for survival. It is, as the specialists claim, a set of complex technical questions which are absolutely essential for improving the ecological situation.

The catastrophe at Chernobyl, it seems, has taught us all a bitter lesson: irresponsibility and the atom are incompatible. Why do I say this? At Mayak they are already racking their brains over whether there will be enough atomic sources of electrical power to restrain the atomic nether world if, as a result of the miners strike, a heat and electric power station is shut down. One unit of it has already been turned off due to a lack of fuel.

I will not begin to decide the fate of the AES, but I share the concern which the city residents express about the speculation surrounding Mayak and the AES. The political aspect of the criticism aimed at the atomic workers comes through clearly. The critics turned the technical problems concerning the safety of the new BN-800 reactor into a platitude first of ecological problems and then of social problems (with regard to the undeserved benefits of the "restriction"), and later they tried to add a nationalistic slant. Does it need to be said how much this juggling, mud-slinging and these open lies disturb the city residents, the current and retired employees of Mayak? This is not what the residents of the unknown cities deserve.

Participant Recounts 1954 Totskiy Nuclear Test

91WN0448B Moscow VETERAN in Russian No 17,
Apr 91 p 14

[Article by Retired Colonel I. Krivoy: "A Time To Scatter Stones"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] Today glasnost is entering all areas of our country's life and history. Recently journalists have devoted a

number of articles to the tactical nuclear exercises carried out at the Totskiy test site in 1954 (IZVESTIYA, No 288, 1989 and No 5, 1990; TRUD, No 2, 1991). The articles contained quite a few critical comments directed against the organizers of the tests—the military personnel who caused, in the authors' opinion, significant damage to the health and life of the Soviet people and to our natural heritage (one of the articles was called "Hiroshima of the Urals").

Retired Colonel I. Krivoy, who participated directly in the events which took place in the Totskiy area, responded to the articles. He disagreed with much of what was printed. By way of encouraging pluralism in opinions we offer his reflections for our readers.

Everything that has been written up to now about the Totskiy tests is extremely disappointing. Alas, it is as if some kind of jarring note had been assigned to the materials from the very beginning. The tendentious titles immediately attune the reader to something negative, something criminal. Perhaps the most scathing article appeared in the newspaper TRUD; it more or less puts an equal sign between the barbaric nuclear strike against Hiroshima by the Americans and our tests, which pursued, one may say, a completely different end.

The United States inflicted an atomic strike against a peaceful Japanese city in order to erase it from the face of the earth, to destroy hundreds of thousands of defenseless people and to frighten the world, especially the Soviet Union, with its military might. The Soviet testers, in scientific terminology, "were searching for ways to provide maximum protection for all living things against the destructive factors of nuclear weapons in diverse terrain conditions." And consequently, the Totskiy tests served as a shield from any potential Hiroshimas. The powerful blast scattered the rocks, sand and earth of the Totskiy area for the sake of the future creative work of mankind. To me, a front-line soldier, who passed through the crucible of many severe tests—through fire, death and destruction—who was six times wounded (I know the cost of life!), this was as clear as God's day.

And how did all this take place?

In 1954 I was serving in a motorized infantry division, deployed not far from the Totskiy test range. My position was deputy chief of headquarters for the division; at the test I was, by the order of Marshal of the Soviet Union G.K. Zhukov, the acting chief of headquarters. In keeping with my position I had information on the preparations for and conduct of the tests.

I first learned about the forthcoming event in February of 1954, when a group of officers and generals came from Moscow for reconnaissance of the test area. If February is taken as the start of the countdown, then the preparations took seven months. Everything was carefully thought out, calculated and weighed. Particular attention was paid to measures for the safety of both the test participants and the public. G.K. Zhukov, marshal of the

Soviet Union and USSR deputy minister of defense, directed all the preparatory work as well as the tests. He personally conducted command-post exercises with the headquarters of every division participating in the tests, and with the troops he held two training sessions and a general rehearsal.

The test area was very carefully prepared from an engineering standpoint. Our division, as a defender in the assault echelon, joined the endeavor in the spring. The engineering work was carried out mainly in the area of the nuclear explosion.

For visual targeting by the aircraft they marked out a square 100 by 100 meters in the epicenter, and they filled in its sides with a layer of chalk up to 10 meters in width. They put up three large corner deflectors within the square for radar sighting in the event of cloudy weather.

The epicenter of the explosion was named the "bath house," because a bath house had actually been located on this site when the Polish Army was being formed during the Great Patriotic War. No cross-shaped trenches were dug. In the epicenter nuclear explosions were not simulated (this was done in other places), and barrels of black oil were not set on fire.

The crew of the aircraft which dropped the atomic bomb made several practice runs under various weather conditions, dropping concrete blanks at the square.

They built around the epicenter a defended area, which was occupied by a military subdivision provided with the latest equipment. They built field works and permanent installations, individual elements of houses and other structures and administration facilities with means of communication. In addition, fighting equipment and animals were placed at various distances (under cover and in open areas).

It was mainly military formations from the Belorussian and Southern Urals military districts which took part in the tests. The personnel were told at the very beginning that they would be using the atomic bomb in these tests (TRUD misleads its readers on this subject). In our division four people refused to participate in the action and they were released.

All the personnel were supplied with protective gear which was the latest available at that time. On the day of the test nearby villages located within a radius of 25 kilometers were supplied with motorized transport and instructions that in the event that a nuclear cloud moved above them it was necessary to evacuate people from the danger zone quickly.

They took months to prepare the ground and not days, as V. Karpov writes on this subject in TRUD. The following were dug: a whole range of trenches with diverse sheathing and covered areas, pits for tanks and other materiel, shelters, bunkers, earth-and-timber emplacements and other fieldworks which provided complete shelter and protection against an atomic blast. Military

hospitals were opened in the test area, and personnel went to them for medical checks both before and after the test.

On 13 September 1954, on the eve of the action, our division left the defensive zone in the forward area and moved a safe distance to the village of Klyuchevoy, which is not five but 10 kilometers from the epicenter of the explosion. Before the bomb was dropped the countdown was announced over a loudspeaker: all personnel from our division were in previously-prepared open trenches.

At 9:00 (and not at 9:30, as V. Bentsianov reports in IZVESTIYA) in the morning on 14 September 1954 an atomic bomb was dropped from an airplane. The effect of the explosion has already been described—there is no need to repeat. As the shock wave spread in the sky it was visible in the form of a white circle, which rapidly expanded from the center of the explosion, like a wave that spreads on the surface of the water when a stone is thrown, and a front of raised dust moved along the earth. As soon as the seriously weakened shock wave in the form of a strong wind passed the area in which our division was located, a signal was given and we took our places in our vehicles and fighting equipment. With maximum speed we headed for our positions and in 40-50 minutes we had occupied them.

All the vehicles and other fighting equipment immediately started and got under way. V. Karpov's claim that after the explosion the running gear of the tanks, which were 12 kilometers from the epicenter, was squeezed by the earth as if by a vice, and that the tanks had to be pulled out by towing equipment, is, to put it mildly, a serious exaggeration.

No atomic snow or nuclear ash fell on the heads of the test participants or local population.

After the shock wave had passed through the artillery's fire positions, preparations for the attack of the "Southerners" began, and when the "Northerners" had taken up their positions in the defense, up to 100 bombers under cover of several dozen fighter planes inflicted a bomb strike against the defense of the "Northerners" (in areas, of course, where there were no people; dummies were used instead).

In the areas where the defender subdivisions were located there was no radioactive contamination of the ground, but all personnel were in the prescribed protective gear and were categorically forbidden to remove it unless so ordered. I served in the formation until 1960 and did not hear of anyone from that unit who complained of illness related to participation in the Totskiy events.

When the "Southerners" switched to the offensive and approached the epicenter, the levels of radiation there were no longer dangerous. Incidentally, there was not a single village along the route followed by the troops who

went through the epicenter. As is well known, no one builds villages on test sites (to the information of Comrade V. Bentsianov).

Beyond the firing range several villages burned down, but the people in them were evacuated in good time with all their property to other settled areas. The villages had natural, non-dangerous radiation levels. After the test, the burned-out villages were completely rebuilt—at state expense—at a considerable distance from the test site. I saw the rebuilt villages with my own eyes.

The test took place in an extremely organized manner: there was not a single emergency during the course of it.

Because this nuclear explosion was an aerial one, the column of dust which rose from the earth did not join up with the radioactive cloud: in the places where the dust fell, radioactivity was absent, and it was insignificant in the trail of the radioactive cloud. After a short period of time natural decontamination of the locality took place.

I cannot say what happened in other divisions but in ours no one asked us to sign non-disclosure statements with regard to data about the test, and no one forbade us to go to a physician to check on radiation exposure. And, by the way, no physician would require a patient to reveal a state secret.

I would not claim that no one suffered anything at all from the test. I do not know everything about it. For this reason I share the opinion of Mladen Zhivoyovich Markovich, referred to in IZVESTIYA, that although it hardly makes sense to equate all the veterans of the Totskiy tests with those who participated in the Great Patriotic War or in combat actions, nonetheless, if some of them suffered, then they deserve no fewer benefits and no less concern from the state.

For myself, however, I can say that I visited by car, without protective gear, the epicenter of the explosion 24 hours after the blast: I examined the area, the twisted and destroyed equipment and field works, and to this day I do not feel that it has in any way influenced my health.

I visited the site of the explosion more than once after the test. The square which was marked in chalk lasted for three or four years. The vegetation appeared the following year, and according to dosimeter monitoring reports, radiation was not present there.

The participants in the test—from soldier to general—displayed (alas, it is not considered acceptable to talk about this now) great patriotism, enthusiasm and effort. Then, in 1954, it was as if people did not think about danger. They thought about how best to fulfill the mission of the Motherland.

For that reason it is offensive to read today articles with a "double bottom," articles which simply paint the Totskiy tests as all black. When you read, for example, a sentence such as this one: "The residents, thank God, were sent away before the explosion," what suggests

itself is this: "It is good that the military at least had the wit to do that," or "Is it really accidental that they chose a densely-settled area as the site of the explosion? Is it really accidental that they removed only the residents of the closest villages?" It is clear that the subtext contains the conclusion they they turned the local population into experimental rabbits.

Even the famous leader G.K. Zhukov gets it in the neck from today's sharp journalists. As a leader, they write, he too was a fine one: he hid in a concrete observation point while subjecting the troops and public to mortal danger. By the way, after the bomb test Georgiy Konstantinovich rode through the epicenter of the nuclear explosion in a car.

Almost everything that our generation did is being slandered or ridiculed today by the "democratic" press. We did not work right and we fought poorly, or we destroyed each other if not in camps then with a nuclear bomb. Society and the generations are being split into hostile factions. The question arises by itself: whom does this benefit?

State Commission Official Urges Republic, Regional Environmental Cooperation

91WN0440A Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY
VESTNIK in Russian No 11, Mar 91 pp 8-9

[Article by A. Tsygankov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Commission on Emergency Situations: "We All Breathe the Same Air"]

[Text]

A Provisional Ecological Agreement between the Republics on Ecological Problems Requiring Urgent Coordinated Action Is Being Prepared. The Need for Such an Agreement Is Obvious. The Path Which Leads to It, However, Is Not Easy

The agreement, which is being worked on at the request of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, should help to overcome the environmental crisis which is developing in many regions of the country. The long neglect of environmental-protection measures is, unfortunately, a wide-spread phenomenon in the center as well as in outlying areas.

A special working group of highly-skilled experts, including USSR people's deputies, was formed under the USSR State Commission on Emergency Situations to prepare the agreement on ecological problems. After careful study of the republics' sovereignty declarations, a draft agreement was prepared on the basis of proposals submitted by ministries, agencies and several Union republics.

What has gone into it? It has been proposed that the agreement should include the principle of implementing a unified ecological strategy and nature-management policy throughout the country and should recognize the

reciprocal coordination of republic-level and Union-level legal and normative acts as a mandatory condition. The unity of the biosphere requires scrupulous consideration of all the possible types of influences on the environment in order to resolve in a comprehensive manner the natural-protection tasks. It is also clear that if the Black and Azov seas are to remain alive, it is necessary for the Dnepr, the Dnestr and the Don, and the Kuban to supply them with clean water, beginning with the very upper reaches.

For the first time a high-level official document refers to ecological disaster zones (Chernobyl and the Aral area) and ecological emergency zones. Decisions on whether to declare an area part of an ecological disaster zone or of an ecological emergency zone are taken by the USSR presidium upon consideration of a proposal by one or more republics at the Council of the Federation. It is recognized as essential to introduce measures to compensate the population in the ecological disaster zones for the loss of health, through the formation of special funds; this applies especially to children, pregnant women and nursing mothers. It is planned to increase the work effectiveness of local environmental-protection organs by supplying them with modern equipment.

It is also essential to speed up the establishment of a unified system for the automated monitoring of the state of the environment, which would include the appropriate banks of ecological information. It is necessary to note that, despite the existing range of monitoring methods, which includes devices in outer space as well as on earth, modern systems have not yet not been established—not even for individual regions or major cities—to provide information necessary for making decisions on prevention. Systems of this kind are necessary in the Aral Sea zone, where it is possible to use equipment of the Baykonur Space Center, as well as for such major regions as the Donbass, where the monitoring of the water and air quality is of vital significance.

The draft agreement stipulates the reciprocal obligations of the center and the republics in preserving species and genetic diversity in the plant and animal world, including the development of a state program of scientific research and economic incentives to promote environmental-protection activities by enterprises.

It is recognized that international treaties adopted by the USSR in the area of environmental protection must be fulfilled by all the republics. It is emphasized that new international agreements, which deal with the natural resources of the republics, can be concluded only if there is advance consultation and coordination with the latter.

Because a thorough resolution of many problems of a regional nature depends largely on the republics, it is recommended that inter-republic agreements be prepared in the very near future, including agreements on the protection and restoration of natural resources in the basins of the Baltic, Black, Azov and Caspian Seas, the Dnepr River basin and Lake Baykal, as well as on the

protection and rational utilization of water resources in the Aral Sea area. The establishment of an Inter-republic Ecological Fund is planned; it will determine the procedure for resolving disputes and paying compensation for losses resulting from violations of the environmental protection legislation.

The draft of the ecological agreement for the republics was presented for consideration by the Inter-parliamentary Ecological Council, which gathered in Kishinev, but it was rejected ostensibly for not corresponding to the sovereignty declarations which the republics have adopted. However, a careful analysis of the document shows that in no way does it violate the basic articles of the declarations by the republics, which proclaim the natural resources to be the property of the people in those republics; in fact, it develops them further.

At the meeting the thesis was put forward that in order to carry out the Congress decisions it was necessary to adopt the Inter-republic Ecological Agreement, the main practical result of which would be the formation of an Inter-Parliamentary Ecological Council with an executive organ in the form of USSR Goskompriroda (State Committee for the Protection of Nature). Judging by the draft, this legislative organ must be not only above the USSR government, but also above the governments of all the republics because the main environmental-protection decisions will be taken exclusively by this council. Careful examination reveals that what it is being proposed is a more centralized system than the one which they have already rejected.

The most substantial aspects—the material, technical and financial support for environmental protection measures—are not clear. It is proposed to have funds from which resources are allotted to the republics on the basis of mutual agreement. It is understood that the amount of money in these funds depends on the financial potential of the republics. At present nearly one billion rubles from the Union budget is being allocated for the resolution of the Aral problem; under the proposed system, this billion must be transferred to Russia, the Ukraine and Belorussia. And what about the Volga, the Dnepr and the Baltic Sea?

The council is interpreted as a parliamentary organ. Its main work will involve the consideration of materials at its sessions, at a time when for a majority of environmental protection problems it is already known what to do.

Great practical benefit would be obtained from the establishment of territorial economic formations (consortia, concerns, associations, joint-stock companies), which—once they had united the economic, scientific and technical potential of enterprises under the leadership of local councils, and once they had received possible financial assistance from the republics and the Union—would do everything possible to resolve ecological problems.

Today the draft of the provisional agreement has been distributed to the parliaments of the republics, and one would like to believe that the pressing ecological needs will overcome the barriers which have been thought up.

New Stricter RSFSR Law on Pollution, Health Norms Viewed

91WN0440B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Apr 91 Union Edition p 7

[Article by S. Tutorskaya: "The End of the Subservient Public-Health Inspectorate"]

[Text] The RSFSR Parliament adopted a law: "Concerning the Public-Health and Epidemiological Welfare of the Population." For the first time in the last half century public-health physicians and epidemiologists are becoming independent in their conclusions and actions. Today they do not have to submit their conclusions for approval (alas, that was the case for many years) by the local Soviet authority, including the leaders of local medicine. In fact, this means that enterprises have fewer real opportunities to "force out" compromise decisions when it comes to the demands of the public-health service.

What these compromises cost us yesterday and are costing us today is now clear to everyone. In 37 Russian cities the concentrations of harmful substances in the air are several times higher than the maximum permissible levels. In Bashkiria and in the Perm, Chelyabinsk, Sverdlovsk and other oblasts, people are living under conditions of ecological disaster.

Every year enterprises which produce and sell food products are responsible for 150-250 major outbreaks of intestinal infections! To a large degree the condition of the environment has been the "culprit" in the negative trends in the state of the Russian population's health in recent years: the birthrate has dropped significantly, the general mortality rate has increased, and the rate of decline in infant mortality rate has slowed.

And what if enterprises are guilty of environmental pollution and are, so to speak, suppliers of intestinal diseases? Up to now they have been required to pay only miserly fines, and it was more convenient to pay them than to build expensive treatment facilities and meet public-health requirements. They may object—now, they say, they have begun to close down the ecologically harmful enterprises. But after all, it is clear that this is not a way out of the situation.

It is important to introduce public-health supervision which is genuine, and not "for the sake of reporting only," in connection with the many new enterprises which are appearing. If a serious violation of the public-health requirements has taken place, any enterprise located in Russia, regardless of what agency it comes under, now will have to pay large fines and pay compensation for material damage caused to people's health. This is being introduced for the first time. And any

citizen of any state who causes damage on Russian territory bears the same kind of liability for environmental pollution. Administrative liability is stipulated, and even criminal liability in especially serious cases.

"The new law was adopted by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet almost unanimously," says L. Podunova, deputy chief public-health physician of the RSFSR. "However, while it was being worked on, there were attempts to hinder us; these were made not only by various agencies but also, sad as it seems, by physicians and the leadership of the health ministries—both the Union and Russian ministries. The medical administration does not want to let "personal" public-health supervision slip out of its jurisdiction. And the fact that the departments are not rejoicing is understandable; they will have to make serious efforts to deal with treatment facilities and to structure their work in other ways. We have received active support from the Committee on Ecology and Nature Management, the Committee on Legislation of the Russian Supreme Soviet and from deputies of the Russian parliament."

"And are the specialists of the public-health and epidemiology service themselves ready to work in the new way?"

"We have capable young people with the will to fight. We are very much counting on them."

It would be interesting to know whether this article will reach Vladimir Ilich Len, a public-health physician from the city of Aleysk in Altayskiy Kray. Several years ago Vladimir Ilich prevented an industrial water line from being hooked up to the drinking water system, something which would have threatened the rayon city with an epidemic. He went against the party raykom secretary, after which he ended up in the hospital with a heart attack. But he did not allow the city to be poisoned. And will Adam Ivanovich Nekoal read this? They forced him, this non-compliant public-health physician, to go to another city. And the Kislovodsk physician Valeriy Ivanovich Chepel went through fire and water because he turned out to be fundamentally opposed to the local authorities and even to his own chief physician in the municipal public-health and epidemiological service.

Over a period of years all of them have been the heroes in our articles. The newspaper has defended not only them but also the sacred right of the qualified specialist to fight for the interests of the people. And during these years we received many letters from physicians who could not reconcile themselves to the submissive and dependent position of the public health service.

Today they have cause for celebration: they will be able to work normally, putting the health of the people above all considerations.

Threat of Heavy Metal Contaminants in Moscow Water Supply Noted

91WN0441A Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian No 6, 8 Feb 91 p 7

[Article by Vladimir Kalita: "Nineteen Tons of Cadmium for Your Table"]

[Text] A new ecological danger has reached a critical level in Moscow. The real threat of water and soil contamination by wastes from various galvanic production units using nickel, chromium, cadmium and zinc has been added to the poor air-quality situation.

According to data from the ecological services, approximately 12 percent of the total Union production which utilizes galvanic technology is concentrated in the capital, and that is more than 900 enterprises. In a 24-hour period they discharge into the sewage system about 220,000 cubic meters of waste water and 435 cubic meters of spent solutions of acids and bases, containing about 19 tons of heavy metal ions. In the process more than half of the discharge is not subject to preliminary treatment. The overwhelming majority of treatment facilities available at these enterprises operate in the old way, that is, without putting the water back into the production cycle. In addition, these enterprises have come up against the problem of where to bury the galvanic slurry (substances containing large concentrations of heavy metals) because at the present time Moscow lacks burial sites for them. This means that enterprises are forced to remove these dangerous wastes to the dump secretly or to discharge them into the sewage system. Naturally this reduces the benefit of treatment to nil. In this way about three tons of heavy metals are discharged into the Moscow River every day, and in the aeration fields the sludge residue—the very best fertilizer—receives a daily "injection" in the form of more than 15 tons of toxic substances. The ecological damage, according to data of the Ekotekhprom Scientific Production Association, from the effect of galvanic production units around Moscow, amounts to about 70 million rubles.

According to medical research conclusions, the effect of heavy metal elements on the human body is three-fold stronger than the effect of radioactive substances. Heavy metal elements, in the concentrations which have shown up in the river, at the dumps and in the aeration fields, are contaminating the land and water; after they have moved through the well-known cycle, they end up in the form of food products on the tables of Muscovites. And, as they say (excuse the black humor), bon appetit!

Journalists reported this as well as many other facts and aspects of the ecological situation in the country and on the planet at a press conference of the USSR Ecological Union (telephone contact in Moscow 238-34-78), an independent public organization; its main goal is to unite people's efforts to achieve the ecological safety and welfare of our country and the entire world, harmony

between man and nature, a reduction in the disease rates, and an increase in the life span.

Returning to the danger of pollution in Moscow resulting from the operations of galvanic production units, it is essential to say that despite all the tragedy of the situation, there is a way out. According to S.A. Boldyryev, vice-president of the Moscow Ecological-Galvanic Association (contact telephone in Moscow 453-67-59), this organization is prepared to plan, manufacture and hand over operationally-ready treatment facilities which use a closed water cycle, and which also utilize slurry from galvanic processes. The appropriate medical organizations have come to a conclusion which confirms the effectiveness of this kind of use. Instead of toxic wastes we could obtain a decorative ceramic tile, while enterprises could significantly reduce their water intake for manufacturing needs. It is a matter of becoming aware of the danger which looms and of displaying a willingness to avoid it because the time for living according to the principle of "after us the deluge" has passed.

Efforts To Reduce Kiev Water Supply Contamination Examined

91WN0441B Kiev KOMSOMOLSKOYA ZNAMYA
in Russian 5 Apr 91 p 4

[Article by V. Smaga, leader of the Green World Club: "Only the Free Will Survive"]

[Text]

Clean Water Will Appear in Kiev Only When the Beer Plant Begins to Bottle Artesian Water for Retail Sale

I read this shocking piece of news in the decisions of a scientific and practical conference on the water-supply problems of the Ukrainian capital. One of its organizers, the chairman of the gorispolkom's ecological commission, Nikolay Shchepets, emphasized in a personal conversation that this forum was also held in order to give a worthy rebuff to "irresponsible coverage in the press." An article entitled "Dioxins in Kiev?", which was published in KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA on 5 March, headed the list.

All this is strange. The newspaper published a report by the director of the country's leading institute on water research, Vladimir Goncharuk, to the effect that a very dangerous toxin had been discovered in the Kiev water system. No one refuted him. So what is the problem? Previously such questions were resolved in a simple manner: they stamped FOU—for official use—on papers like the one about dioxins, and all the news writers simultaneously acquired the necessary degree of "responsibility." Now, however, you do not conceal shocking information on the state of our water resources. For example, the deputy chairman of the Bryansk Committee for the Protection of Nature, Valeriy Solovyev, appeared at the conference. He reported a surprising fact. The city's treatment facilities were designed to

handle 160,000 cubic meters of effluent, but by some miracle they are handling 170,000 now.

A problem has developed: all the trash which accumulates in Bryansk arrives at Kiev's water intake a week later.

The guest from Bryansk made an urgent plea for help to renovate his city's treatment facilities. This was expressed in quite proper form. But it is, in essence, nothing other than ecological blackmail. Kiev, could take this kind of approach to the problem and "shift its rights," to Dnepropetrovsk, for example, while sending in that direction something other than a little spring water. And for those people who live on the banks of the Dnepr below Energodar it is simply unbearable: every year the Zaporozhye Power Plant carries out the so-called drainage of its coolant pond, discharging 550 million cubic meters into the river; this is a very gross violation of Article 19 of the UkSSR Water Code.

However, it is clear to everyone that the old laws on environmental protection do not work. Every year the Dnepr receives one billion cubic meters of toxic effluent. This hellish cocktail contains 1,300 chemical elements and compounds. Moreover, the maximum permissible concentrations for organic materials, salts of heavy metals and ammonium are exceeded several times over, and bacterial contamination has increased 10-fold. In essence, we are drinking water from a half-dead river in which normal biological life is already impossible.

Thus the problem of fresh water has become a matter of survival for the people who inhabit the banks of the great river. For this reason I asked Vladimir Shchepets about his attitude toward the draft law "Concerning the Protection of the Environment." As it turned out, the UkSSR Supreme Soviet has taken into account all the proposals of the gorispolkom. Prior to this an economic mechanism for the payment of environmental damage claims was established in Kiev on an experimental basis. The results of the experiment provided the foundation for the corresponding articles of the draft law. For this reason the state of affairs in Kiev can be the basis on which we may judge with a sufficient degree of accuracy what will happen if the draft of the republic's main environmental protection law becomes a reality.

Rejoice, O Kievans! By the end of the year the city's coffers should receive—for the first time—R20.3 million from those who daily poison the water and air and who destroy our health. This sum most likely will not even suffice to pay for the sick leave and compensate for the lost output of those who have become ill from the charms of capital life.

Do you feel the progress? According to the old legislation we received nothing from those who are poisoning us, and according to the new, we will receive pathetic crumbs—20 million and a whole administration of new officials in order to dispose of the money.

The main characteristic of a bureaucracy, which is its tendency to reproduce asexually, was noted a long time ago by the English satirist in his famous "Parkinson's Laws." According to the existing rules officials are given 10 days to prepare a report for one letter. But the commission of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet has set aside a total of five days for the entire community of the Ukraine to discuss the draft of the main environmental protection law for the republic. What is the great hurry?

Moreover, respected readers, the commission of Nikolay Zaludyak (in my opinion the biochemical plant built in Kremenchug while he was secretary of the party gorkom there demonstrates well the level of his ecological knowledge) wants very much to bring the draft to the Ukrainian parliament for voting as soon as possible. The parliament has a majority, which is—with reason—called overwhelming, and which willingly approves all documents which are convenient for the powers that be.

It is not surprising that the commission now has to collect—instead of calm proposals for the draft—anxious protests by various public organizations. The Green World (Zelenyy Svit) ecological association and a large group of activists from the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Nature have decisively opposed the game of perestroika being played in the nature-management system.

In all civilized countries the state environmental protection services come directly under the legislature and function on the basis of strict laws and clear economic mechanisms. The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, for example, would long ago have completely closed down the Kiev Bolshevik Plant for contaminating the Lybed River. Even under the new legislation the polluters will escape with only a warning. Why? Because the State Ecology Commission remains subordinate to the UkSSR Council of Ministers, that is, to a council of economic ministers.

Why do we need an imitation of change? Let us heed another well-known scholar, Vladimir Maksimchuk, candidate of technical sciences. He has the following comments on the Bryansk request:

"Once Russia, Belorussia and the Ukraine have declared their sovereignty, then it is completely natural to conclude an agreement on inter-republic water exchange, stipulating in it the volumes and quality of water, and of course, compensation for damage due to pollution. Agreements of this kind have been concluded between the USSR, on the one hand, and Rumania, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, on the other. Until official documents of this kind are signed, good water management on the Dnepr is almost impossible."

Those are the weak points in the draft law, which have been found by extremely responsible specialists, and not by irresponsible journalists, as was claimed at the conference.

The revival of the Thames and the Rhine provides a convincing example of what a modern mechanism for environmental management must look like. If we do not revive the Dnepr in exactly the same way, we will simply perish due to the polluted water. For this reason we do not have a great deal of choice: either we meekly stand in line to buy pure water in bottles or we work to achieve life in a truly sovereign Ukraine with a healthy economy and effective legislation.

The hard truth is this: only a free people will survive in the land which experienced the disaster of Chernobyl.

Valentin Smaga, leader of the Green World Club. Telephone 441-86-51

Heightened Morbidity in Altay Kray Associated With Contaminants

91WN0449A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 91
Second Edition p 6

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent S. Vortushin, Altay Kray: "Take Off Your Dark Glasses and Then It Will Be Clear Why Our Children Are Being Born Sick"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Three-month old Slava, despite all of his mother's care, has landed in the hospital again. I had only a brief glance at him and left the room. There is nothing worse than looking at a helpless child.

Slava's illness, as the doctors told me, is very serious, although to a non-specialist it may not be so noticeable. At the age of three months the infant's movements still are not coordinated but only a physician could detect the deviation from the norm. Slava was trying to move his little hands and feet. But I knew that he was a profoundly sick boy with atrophy of the muscles and as a result of this, delay in the development of his entire body. The doctors think that there is a chance that he may get better, although the sequelae of the disease will always be there.

But there are children who are worse. A boy named Alyesha is growing up in a community not far from the city of Gornyak. He is already a year old but he is not standing yet. And he will not stand. The boy was born completely paralyzed. He had a cerebral hemorrhage at birth.

There were children like this born before. The doctors would look for explanations in individual cases. But in 1989 the number of newborns with damage to the central nervous system sharply increased in Loktevskiy Rayon. The number ran into the hundreds. Moreover, all the infants were distinguished by the yellow color in their faces. This meant that the child who had just come into the world already had a sick liver.

"We immediately began to look for the cause," said S. Trebunskiy, chief physician at the Loktevskiy Rayon Hospital. But the main point was to save the children.

They all had extremely high blood bilirubin counts. This disease is commonly called jaundice. In newborns it is related to lesions in the central nervous system.

They raised the alarm in Altay Kray. A special brigade was sent to Loktevskiy Rayon: specialists from the kray pediatric clinical hospital and the local medical institute came, as did representatives of the public-health and epidemiological services. By this time one child had already died.

Jaundice is not a new disease: people have learned to conquer it. And with the help of the specialists they worked out a method of treatment here: the necessary equipment and medications were allocated to the rayon hospital. They started to save all the yellow babies. But where do the roots of the disease lie?

When trying to answer this question, they recalled the fire which took place at the mine in the summer of 1988. In Gornyak they mine polymetallic ore, which contains heavy metals harmful to the human body: lead, zinc and cadmium. When the mine caught fire, toxic smoke spread over the city and surrounding areas. Its pungent odor did not go away for three months. And in the spring of 1989 the yellow children began to be born in Gornyak. But they did not succeed in proving a link between the two events. The fact was that by that time the same problem had appeared in Talmenskiy Rayon, which was 400 kilometers away. It had no mine or polymetallic ores.

They did not manage to prevent the birth of yellow children, but here, too, the doctors were able to organize treatment for them. How effective was it? I asked this question of Professor A. Fedorov, chief of the pediatric diseases department at the Altay Medical Institute.

"Of the 757 infants whom we studied about 500 proved to have pathologies of the central nervous system," he said. "In some it passes, but in others it remains for life. But even in those who recover, the nervous system is weakened. This kind of person may fail to cope with a vital situation at a critical moment."

In the search for causes of the disease the specialists first of all studied pregnant women in detail. It turned out that more than half of them had anemia. Characteristically the anemia started when the pregnancy became noticeable. Before that the woman was healthy. The anemia led to the child being born sick. In the mother's uterus it suffered from oxygen deficiency. Many newborns were coming into the world not only yellow but also with elevated intracranial pressure and hydrocephalus. The vessels of their brains were so fragile that intracranial traumas was observed even in those who were born by caesarian section.

They discovered another phenomenon. The milk of many mothers was found to contain toxins—DDT, hexachlorane and heavy metals. One cannot breast feed a child with milk like that. That is when the doctors turned their attention to ecology.

The chief physician at Loktevskiy Rayon Hospital mentioned the following fact. At one time three years ago, when toxic chemicals were being used to cultivate the fields, a pilot forgot to shut off a valve when flying over the village of Gilevo. Half of the gardens in the village ended up under the toxic rain. No one told the people that it was necessary to destroy the entire harvest from their gardens, and the doctors found out about it too late. And this was not the only case. Several years ago near Novosibirsk hundreds of garden plots were "cultivated" in the same way.

But agriculture is not the only culprit in the ecological disaster. Every year the industrial enterprises of the Altay discharge 747,000 tons of harmful substances into rivers and the atmosphere. Many plants, including the largest ones, do not have treatment facilities even now. The following example shows the kind of danger that exists here. The Altay is traditionally a cheese-making area, and even quite recently its cheeses were renowned throughout the country. But today in many areas it is impossible to make cheese from the local milk because its chemical composition has changed so much. The situation in Altay's neighboring regions, in the Kemerovo and Novosibirsk oblasts for example, is no better.

"Meanwhile there are no yellow babies there now," says Professor Ya. Shoykhet, vice-rector of the Altay Medical Institute. He is the director of a scientific council under the jurisdiction of the republic's program for the protection of maternal and infant health in the kray. "In addition to all these problems in the Altay, there is still another powerful factor—the consequences of the nuclear weapons testing in Semipalatinsk. We are not talking about current tests, but about those which were conducted on the ground and in the atmosphere from 1949 through 1963. After all, the mothers of the yellow babies are women who themselves were born in precisely those years and immediately after them. No one knows what dose of radiation they received but that they were subjected to it is not in question. A yellow baby is the consequence of the influence of a whole range of factors."

What is the solution? The doctors and the local organs of authority are doing everything in their power to improve the health of the newborns. Pregnant women with anemia are prescribed a high-calorie diet. They receive, in addition to the current meager ration, extra coupons for meat and other foodstuffs. They are assigned places in the sanatoria and preventoria of local enterprises.

Procedures for the storage of fertilizers and toxic chemicals have been tightened up. All farms which do not have safe storage facilities are forbidden to use them. But the general situation has not yet been fully corrected.

For many years we were too complacent not only about the health of nature but also about our own health. When they began to use chemicals on a large scale in agriculture, the departments worried only about the production

of fertilizers and toxic chemicals. They reassured people that these products would increase yields, but no one explained how carefully one needs to deal with this powerful force, which is called to life by the will of man. Otherwise, the caked snowy mountains would not have been piled up in every village. The good was turned into a genie released from the bottle.

In order to have healthy offspring we need to fundamentally re-examine our way of life. When we finally take off our dark glasses we will see that the streets of many of our cities resemble garbage dumps, the air is at least half smoke from chimneys and car exhausts, and the water resembles a cocktail of impurities.

We do not yet have the instruments to detect harmful substances in the food products which we use. Recently they have started to reveal just the nitrate content. But, after all, nitrates are not the only ones which damage the human body: there are other toxic chemicals as well. The public-health services came up with the so-called maximum permissible concentrations. That means that the toxins can be used but... in limited quantities! There is nothing like it in any civilized country!

After I returned from a business trip to Barnaul, I learned that yellow infants had appeared in other parts of the kray. The Altayskiy Rayon already had 25, and this figure was not the upper limit. The alarm bell had been rung in the Troitskiy Rayon...

Investigation of Lake Ladoga Nuclear Experiments Updated

91WN0449B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Apr 91 Union Edition p 8

[Article by O. Tarasov, Leningrad Oblast: "The 'Whale' With Radiation in the Hold"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] In the fall of last year I published an article about a half-submerged destroyer located near the islands of the Western Archipelago at Lake Ladoga called "Kit" (Whale), which had radioactivity in its hold. At that time I did not guess that the old ship had a secret, which until recently was kept in the family. However, witnesses and participants from events of the early fifties responded to the article. As it turned out, large-scale experiments with radioactive substances were held in the vitally important area of Lake Ladoga, next door to Leningrad. These substances were dispersed in this locality by means of explosives in attempts to simulate nuclear explosions.

The stories of the witnesses had to be checked and clarified, of course, by the military agency which now coordinates the work to eliminate the consequences of the dangerous experiments at Lake Ladoga. It turns out that the nation's army archives do not have documents which disclose the methods or the qualitative and quantitative indicators of the experiments with special charges conducted on the islands.

And today's military specialists have to detect, so to speak, the details of those long-ago experiments by working in the immediate area with radiometers and dosimeters. The work has been going on for many months. They have gathered data and compiled maps of the contaminants. The results of the investigations must now be checked with veterans who participated in the tests and others who served at one time in the special purpose division.

They formed the division in the spring of '53. The Baltic Fleet allocated middle-sized and large launches. The division was based in one of the bays on the western shore of Lake Ladoga. They located the center of the test site on the island of Suri (now Kheynyasenma). They gave new names to all the previously Finnish islands of the archipelago because of the special secrecy of the work which was done here.

The Podvzhnyy, a destroyer, which was soon renamed the Kit (Whale), was the largest vessel in the sub-unit.

The testers were brought here by launch from the island of Suri. The strange appearance of these people in insulating, anti-gas suits, special footwear and gas masks at first puzzled the young sailors who serviced the test site.

The testers loaded the destroyer with measuring equipment and a "cover" charge—an inoffensive-appearing wooden box with handles. But the contents were terrible: explosives and a large container with a concentrated solution of radioisotopes. They transported the container in an outer lead container, and treated it with special care... They put experimental animals—dogs, rabbits and white mice—in the ship's quarters.

The sailors observed the explosion from under cover. A cloud arose over the ship and the islands, and then it quickly dispersed.

When ordered by the Kit, the launch returned to the very center of the radioactive hell. It took on board the testers and the equipment. They were breathing air which was poisoned with radiation. They did the work with no misgivings, not even guessing the risk they were being subjected to. Alas, protective gear was not issued to the sailors. After every explosion they brought the irradiated animals to a laboratory, which was located on the island of Malom-Makarinsari. The testers underwent personal decontamination on Suri-Kheynyasenma, where they lived and worked.

And on the Kit itself several such explosions were heard, on the deck in the superstructure and in the hold. (Later, it is possible, they put "contaminated" objects in the hold—they buried them there).

Today one can walk on the snow-covered deck of the Kit without misgivings. The specialists from the Leningrad Department of Radiation Monitoring and the Radium Institute who arrived with us are measuring the level of contamination. There are two places on the ship where

the the exposure dose of the penetrating radiation approaches 1,000 microroentgens per hour; the beta contamination in the superstructure and the hold are approximately 1,000 times above the natural background levels. This summer Navy specialists will raise the ship off the bottom and take it for burial in accordance with existing standards.

They also held explosions on the Island of Suri. It is difficult to explain this choice; after all, it is only a half-hour walk around the island from here to the headquarters of the test site.

One explosion took place on the deck of another experimental ship, the Morskoy Okhotnik (Marine Hunter), which they brought here, into the bay. Today its hull is still turning black, along with a half-destroyed pier. Later the explosions took place at a special site. Clouds of radioactive dust rose above the island, settling on the trees, rocks and surface of the lake. Animals invariably participated in the experiments. And, unfortunately, sailors invariably worked in the danger zone—without protective gear.

The scientific forces were based on Makarinsari. The island of "special science" probably remains the most dangerous in terms of the remaining traces of radiation. The most contaminated sector of dry land lies 10 meters from the waterline—alongside the stern of the Kit. At that time the storage facility for the radioisotopes was located there. Despite the extremely careful attitude toward active solutions, leaks most likely happened nonetheless. The soil here "sings" loudly.

The tests of radioactive charges in the bays at Myuarka should be recognized as being extremely far from humane. What was probably being studied was the radioactive effect on water. In this process they used horned ground mines, to which they attached a container with radioisotopes. After the detonation, young sailors in the ship's boats hurried to the epicenter and used special methods to take samples of the "contaminated" water. Of course, they would forget about caution, and radioactive substances ended up on their skin, their clothing and in the boat. Today one can guess the consequences of the experiments, which were stopped in 1955.

For many of the test participants service at the test site ended even earlier. As a rule, people lasted one or two seasons. Then they landed in hospital. They were treated for unexpected diseases, which were often difficult to explain. The most frequently observed problems involved the functioning of the locomotor system and the respiratory and digestive organs.

And what were the consequences of these ominous experiments for the residents of the Ladoga area and for the ecology of the lake, which provides water to an enormous region?

The total secrecy of the experiments conducted at that time makes it impossible to answer that question. As we mentioned, there are no archival materials. There is now

only the opinion of the specialists who have studied the problem of the test site. These are people of science, who have survived the crucible of the clean-up work in Chernobyl. Specifically, the scientific group of A. Katkov, a well-known Leningrad scientist, after summarizing many years of experience in the radiological monitoring of Ladoga, came to the conclusion, stated in a book, that the content of dangerous radionuclides in the water is significantly lower than the MPC, the maximum permissible concentration. The specialists from the Radium Institute drew a similar conclusion.

For now the monitoring of the ecological situation in the Ladoga region will be carried out by scientists from a department of the Ecotoxicometric Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which was established recently on the former test site. Ecological conversion will help the lake...

And one last thing. Only a part of the truth about the Ladoga problem has been uncovered. But what part is it? The larger part or only a small part? What is there still to find out? Which of the witnesses will respond this time?

Central Asian Cloud Seeding Experiments Criticized

91WN0449C Dushanbe KOMMUNIST
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 13 Apr 91 p 2

[Article by K. Sirozhidinov, staff member of the Council for the Study of Production Forces of the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences: "Shall We Let Loose Storms Upon the Earth?"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text]

Concerning the Inadvisability of Artificially Increasing Atmospheric Precipitation in the Republic

The hypothesis that it is possible to increase the atmospheric precipitation in Central Asia artificially has attracted increasing attention from the scientific community since 1978. Atmospheric precipitation is the most important link in the circulation of water in nature, and it is for this reason that people have asked whether this natural cycle cannot not be changed. In other words, can we, by utilizing the enormous atmospheric reserves of moisture, accelerate and increase their precipitation over certain territories?

Science has answered this question positively. However, the questions of where, when, under what conditions and to what degree we can in practice influence the natural course of the processes have remained a subject of scientific research. The danger presented by the drying up of the Aral Sea has exacerbated the situation. After 12 years of work, USSR Goskomgidromet (State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control) has formulated the technical-ecological groundwork for a plan calling for the implementation of large-scale

projects to increase precipitation in the basin of the Aral Sea rivers, which includes territory in four Central Asian Union republics.

The following figures indicate the scale of the proposed projects within the Tajik SSR alone, where there is no need for this lavishness: the working area of the experiment (test site) chosen for the basin of the Amudarya amounts, in terms of size, to about 40 percent of its area (55,000 square kilometers). It encompasses 23 rayons and 12 cities. More than three million people (60 percent of the republic's population) live in this territory. The working area encompasses the upper and middle reaches of the Vakhsh, the Kafirnigan and the Zeravshan, as well as the basins of the Shenkent and Karatag rivers and the basin of those rivers on the left bank of the Syrdarya with internal drainage. This is all of Central Tajikistan, the Ura-Tyubinskaya group of rayons and the Gissarskaya Valley, including Dushanbe. That is the scale of the proposed projects.

USSR Goskomgidromet plans to begin in the next two-three years a set of large-scale projects to actively influence precipitation-forming cloud systems in order to artificially increase precipitation over the indicated area. It is proposed to carry out this action in the fall-winter-spring period.

The possibility of effectively interfering in the natural processes of cloud and precipitation formation is based on the premise that clouds represent unstable systems. Their long-term existence is explained by the low precipitation rates of cloud drops and the effect of air currents directed upwards. By influencing one factor or the other, that is, by contributing to the emergence of large particles or by suppressing the streams which are directed upwards, it is possible to accelerate the disintegration of clouds, having caused the emergence or intensification of precipitation. The simple method is to sprinkle water in the form of drops directly from an airplane; they enlarge 100-fold as they fall through a cloud. But for this it is necessary to convey to the sky tons and tons of water, something which is, of course, impossible.

The plan adopts two other methods of acting upon the phase instability of clouds: either seed them with cold reagents, which reduce the temperature of the surrounding air, thus leading to crystallization and to the activation of natural ice centers, or with reagents which are capable of playing the role of ice centers (foreign particles), thus removing the atmosphere from a stable state. It is proposed to use solid carbon dioxide as the cold reagent and silver iodide as the ice-like substance.

Introducing into the clouds either of these forms of crystallizing reagents leads to the intensification of the processes of precipitation formation. In this process airplanes, rockets, artillery anti-hail installations and aerosol generators on the ground are used for introducing the reagents into the clouds. Throughout the world the aircraft methods of acting upon clouds have become the most widespread, and they have been

adopted as the main ones for this project. It is proposed that in the future a shift will be made to ground aerosol generators.

The process of aircraft seeding (by 15-16 aircraft) of the clouds with granulated solid carbon dioxide or of introducing silver iodide into them will be carried out during the cold period of the year (November-April, possibly October to May) for an average of approximately 40 days every year, 10 hours a day. The yearly seeding with carbon dioxide will amount to 2,160 tons, and with silver iodide from five to 20 kg.

The action is highly effective only when there is seeding of those forms of clouds which provide precipitation and only when there is natural development. In Tajikistan these winter frontal cloud systems are the main sources of winter precipitation. Only in this case does the increase in precipitation prove to be very significant, making the action economically advisable.

The plan calls for precipitation to be increased by 15 percent. Expressed in absolute terms, that is eight cubic meters for the Tajik SSR, which is obviously greatly overestimated. The problem is that the working area chosen for this action accounts for only 60 percent of the total yearly amount of precipitation, not 90 percent, as indicated in the plan, and the figure is even less for the basin of the Zeravshan River. On the other hand, drainage from the Pyandzh basin, which does not come within the test area, has been mistakenly included. And, finally, when the effectiveness of the work was being evaluated, the flow coefficient (the ratio of the amount of water going into the river flow to the amount of water which has fallen in the form of precipitation) was mistakenly accepted as equal to one in the project. But in reality, the flow coefficient in the area of the proposed work does not exceed 0.5 if precipitation falls in the form of snow and 0.7 if it takes the form of rain (let us note that in the winter in Dushanbe 70 percent of the precipitation is rain). For this reason the proposed 15-percent increase in the amount of precipitation will not increase the river flow by precisely that amount. In practice the increase in the river flow will be expressed by an extremely modest figure—2.2 cubic kilometers, which does not provide hope for the revival of Aral. For this reason the proposed large-scale program to actively influence the cloud systems of Tajikistan is not a realistic method of increasing the water resources; it is not capable of noticeably influencing the future fate of the Aral Sea. The people's wisdom says: you will not quench your thirst with dew.

Moreover, how can the results of the artificial effect be determined against the background of the existing natural variability of precipitation? The plan does not contain an evaluation of the probability that any differences which are revealed may arise from natural variability. In short, by no means have all aspects of the regional features of the cloud-formation and precipitation-development processes in the proposed work area within the Tajik SSR been studied in sufficient detail.

Experiments have not been conducted in the republic, and this also casts doubt on the precipitation increase which is proposed in the plan.

It is also unclear what form the additional precipitation will take. Will it be rain, hail, or snow? It is possible that the implementation of the program will lead to an increase in the proportion of liquid precipitation in the winter-spring norm, which in our conditions is not desirable.

The large-scale program to actively influence cloud systems cannot fail to have a substantial negative impact on a whole range of socioeconomic and economic factors. Moreover, we cannot exclude the possibility that as a result of the action, the amount of precipitation falling during the season may be increased not by 15 but by 30 or more percent of the yearly norm. And such an increase would influence many things all the more negatively.

Because this is extremely serious, it is essential to name what threatens us.

The probability of avalanches in the winter and spring season and the formation of mud flows in the summer will be increased. The erosion and rock slide processes will be increased, and the stability of slopes will be disturbed. We must not forget that in Tajikistan the people have conducted a struggle against water for centuries, while in Uzbekistan and Turkmenia people are struggling for water.

There will be increased expenditures to keep automobile roads clear and to remove snow from the streets in cities and villages. Conditions for tourism and public recreation will decline.

There will be interruptions in the operation of the energy and water supply systems, and expenditures for fuel, especially solid fuel, will increase.

The health of the population will decline.

The climate will begin to change. After all, it is the mountain systems located both within the republic and outside it, rather than the Aral Sea, which exert a large influence on the climate of Tajikistan.

Local air pollution caused by the carbon dioxide and silver iodide will require, in turn, some measures to combat this phenomenon.

There will be disturbances in the natural course of precipitation during the planting (March-April) and harvesting (October-November) campaigns. Rain or snow falling during these periods may interfere with either the preparatory or final work of the agricultural year. In addition, a cold spell in April, for example, is fraught with the possibility that apricot, cherry, apple and pear blossoms may perish completely. Frequent spring frosts will result in damaged grape leaves.

Additional moisture and snow cover in the territory will lead to later dates for the snow descent and, consequently, to a decline in the total amounts of effective temperatures.

Thunderstorm and hail phenomena in the winter period will develop.

There will be changes in the conditions of glaciers and snow cover on slopes, which will influence the formation of water runoff.

As is well known, the water factor is the most important regulating and determining factor in the location of population within the territory of the republic. Nearly all our populated areas are located in groups in the lower reaches of average and shallow rivers, or along them with varying degrees of siting density, which emphasizes and increases the significance of the water factors. For this reason changing the natural conditions of water flow can lead to unforeseen negative consequences. The economic expenses to compensate for the consequences will be significant, growing from year to year; they will be a heavy burden on the republic's economy. The direct and indirect economic damage from the ecological changes will prove to be extremely significant. Consequently, the organization of large-scale work to control the distribution of water resources by artificially increasing the atmospheric precipitation over the territory of the Tajik SSR must be considered to be premature. What is required is the formulation of a long-term, comprehensive and well-planned experiment on a lesser scale, which would stipulate the establishment of a monitoring system; it is assumed that this plan for an experimental phase will be coordinated with the republic.

But for now, proceeding from the premise that here, in Tajikistan, a man's life is more closely related to the life of nature than it is in other places, we consider it inadvisable to change the environment which surrounds him.

Scientists and specialists from the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan have arrived at the same opinion on the inadvisability of carrying out this work. The opinion was shared by those who participated in the international symposium entitled "The Aral Crisis: Why It Happened and How to Resolve it," which took place in the fall of last year in Nukus. But it is essential, of course, to publicize this very serious ecological situation.

Leningrad Firm Offers Device To Save Fuel, Reduce Auto Emissions

91WN04694 Moscow *TORGOVAYA GAZETA*
in Russian 18 May 91 p 3

[Report by L. Raykova: "New Times: Business for Sale"]

[Text] A GAI [State Automobile Inspection] ecological detachment has begun work in Mordovia. The unusual militia tries to minimize emission of auto gases. I do not

know how private drivers in Mordovia like this innovation, but the Leningrad Ekospektr Scientific Production Association openly rejoiced at this event. The reason is that a year ago Ekospektr launched production of an automobile gasoline-vapor unit that not only reduces the quantity of harmful emissions by half but also conserves 30 percent of the gasoline.

And this is how it works. The automobile starts on gasoline. Then the gasoline supply is cut off and vapor "goes to work." The top speed on vapor is 15 kilometers an hour. At speeds of 15-65 kilometers an hour, the motor operates on a gasoline-vapor mixture. The fuel is blended in the carburetor and the driver is absolutely unaware of it. When the speed is more than 65 kilometers an hour, the engine changes to "gasoline" supply.

Many private drivers in Leningrad have found the new unit to their taste. For after the unit is installed in the vehicle, the association provides guaranteed technical service for a year. However, the commercial business soon ran out of room in one city. The inexpensive—only 560 rubles [R]—unit was readily adopted by private cab drivers. But the introduction of the new novelty did not find approval from the motor vehicle pools in the city. That is certainly not surprising, since ecological indicators of their work do not affect the financial condition of the automobile firms. Then Ekospektr sold the unit to other regions of the country. So, the association acquired eight subsidiary enterprises in only three months. But what is the secret of this demand?

"Essentially we sell a ready-made business," general director A. Berdichevskiy believes. "Along with the technical and authorization documents our new partner receives the monopoly right to the gasoline-vapor system unit in a particular region. We also help get the business going. First our consultants go to the particular site. Along with the license Ekospektr sells 15-20 units right off, so that the work can begin without delay, and we help conclude contracts with manufacturing enterprises for delivery of the assembly components."

"It is very tender support in our harsh times. And for only R30,000. You know, even the commercial price of a Volga is now R260,000 and a Xerox machine costs from R100,000 to 200,000. What is the reason for such a low price for a ready-made business for an entrepreneur?"

"We uphold that price deliberately. There should be one owner of the gasoline-vapor system. Improper use of it may easily ruin the business. And it looks very promising. We have received a proposal from the Czechs and French to sell the patent for it. We were advised to distribute the innovation throughout the country before signing a contract. We took a different path. We are selling it at a cheap price, but we retain the right of the principal firm. We continue working to improve its design. We monitor the technical embodiment of the idea. In addition to everything else, the subsidiary firms will pay us 10 percent of the value of the work they do for

the first seven years. I think that this system of interrelations is not only mutually profitable, but also very useful. It will not fall into the hands of the nonprofessional—that is one thing. When necessary the automobiles throughout the entire country can be modernized—that is the second. And demand for these applications, I guarantee, will rise sharply as soon as the Mordovian experience of the ecological militia crosses the republic's border."

Additional information on buying the business can be obtained by telephone in Leningrad: 164-97-47 or 164-42-63.

Lemeshev Scores Foreign Influence, Stalin, Others in Volga Development Schemes

91WN0469B Moscow PODMOSKOVYE in Russian
No 17, 27 Apr 91 p 6

[Article by Mikhail Lemeshev, doctor of economic sciences and member of the governing board of the Committee To Save the Volga: "The Fruits of a Satanic Plan"]

[Text] Everything in the world is interrelated. Unwise economic policy is destroying our once rich and flourishing country. Scientists believe that we are on the verge of ecological catastrophe. How can it be avoided? The author of this article, which will be published in full in the journal NASH SOVREMENNİK, tries to answer this question.

I think that first of all each and every person must clearly recognize that the dangerous illness of the Volga is the result of the social-ecological sickness of the entire country. It is not only the Volga which is in danger, but the fate of our Motherland which is in danger. The threat of economic ruin, social disasters, and ecological catastrophe hangs over the country. And what is the reason for the dramatic situation? How have we come to this nation-wide calamity? I am certain that people's **alienation** from the land, from the waters, from the means of production, and from the product produced by them and their indifferent attitude toward nature, their own labor, other people, and public interests are to blame for everything.

We have surpassed all countries of the world in terms of volume of industrial production directly related to exploitation of nature. The USSR produces more of the following than the United States—mineral fertilizers—by a factor of 1.4; oil—by a factor of 1.6; natural gas—by a factor of 1.7; cement—by a factor of 1.9; steel—by a factor of 2; iron ore—by a factor of 4.4; tractors—by a factor of 6.2; and grain harvesting combines—by a factor of 6.9. And that is even when in terms of population our country surpasses America by only 15 percent. Comparing our economy with worldwide parameters is very instructive. The USSR accounts for 5.3 percent of the world population. But at the same time, our country provides 13 percent of the world production of cement,

16 percent—of electricity, 21 percent—of oil, 21 percent—of steel, 22 percent—of mineral fertilizers, and 42 percent—of natural gas. As we see, the scale of production destructive to nature is simply fantastic. But this is what is surprising. The more products listed which are produced, the greater the shortage of them becomes.

Let us recall that in 1990 the record harvest of grain was lost in many rayons because there was no fuel for the combines and motor transport and a great power was reduced to obtaining charity from foreign countries in order to supply the population with food.

So what is going on in our country? Where is the labor of millions and millions of Soviet people going? Above all the reason for this abnormal situation is the criminal policy of foreign economic relations which is expressed in the sale, destructive to the country, of our natural resources—oil, gas, timber, and ferrous and nonferrous metal ores—abroad at dumping prices. In 1989 127 million tons of crude oil and 57 million tons of light petroleum products were sold abroad, while our citizens sit in airports for days because of the lack of kerosene for planes and car owners toil for hours in lines at gas pumps because of the limit on fuel.

That same year 101 billion cubic meters of natural gas were sent to foreign countries. The country's territory is crisscrossed by a network of main gas lines, while thousands of settlements and villages in Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia live without gas. Ministries use hard currency earned to buy drilling equipment, pipes, and compressors to extract more and more raw materials, and that entails the depletion of nature and the ruin of the habitat of whole peoples of the North and Siberia. The mining of iron ore in the center of Russia has destroyed hundreds of thousands of hectares of unique chernozem, dried up rivers, creeks, and wells, and destroyed the region's forests, orchards, and meadows; while the country is buried in scrap metal, which the departments also sell abroad. After all, the smelting of steel from scrap metal requires one-seventh to one-eighth the energy and yields one-eighth to one-tenth the pollution.

Every year 29-36 million tons of iron ore, up to 1 million tons of manganese ore, 5-6 million tons of potassium fertilizers and the same quantity of nitrate fertilizers, and 19-20 million cubic meters of rough timber are exported abroad and 38-39 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity are transmitted abroad.

The assertion by the departments that our country has a growing energy shortage has become commonplace. But the shortage is the consequence of colossal consumption of energy for developing all those raw material production facilities which are ruining nature and the economy.

But let us return to the fate of our suffering Volga. A series of hydroelectric power plants [GES] with gigantic decaying reservoirs which destroyed the unique fish resources of the Volga-Caspian Basin was built to cover the artificially created shortage of electricity on the

Volga. The chemical and petrochemical plants which are nestled along the river's shores make their destructive contribution to polluting the once **living water** of the Volga. Many of these plants were built on the initiative and using the designs of foreign entrepreneurs, in particular the great "friend" of the Soviet Union, the American multimillionaire Armand Hammer. This genius of profit, in addition to many other predatory operations on Russia's territory, built 10 ammonia plants for us, including on the Volga, which brought him 20 billion dollars in profits and gave our country dangerous pollution which continues even now and accidents which follow one after another.

In May 1990 another major deal between the Soviet departments and French businessmen was made, to search for, extract, and process oil in the USSR. The first deputy minister of the USSR Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry Mr. Nikitin, the first deputy minister of the USSR Ministry of Geology Mr. Salmanov, and the president of the ELF Aquitaine Company Mr. Le Flok-Prizhen. I must make the proviso here that it was certainly not the author of these lines who called our management figures "mister." That was how it was announced in PRAVDA on 14 July 1990. The territory in the Volga delta with an area of **35,000 square kilometers** was the object of the deal in this case! Commenting on this event, PRAVDA noted with particular feeling that with this deal "the USSR for the first time is opening its interiors to a foreign oil partner." But should we rejoice at this event? It is common knowledge that the Lower Volga Region is an ecological disaster zone even without that. And what will happen to it as a result of additional activity by foreign firms here? Of course, there were more than enough assurances from both our leadership figures and the French owners that our foreign partners have the most refined and most ecologically clean technology. But tell me, when did we ever experience a shortage of them, these promises and assurances? The structure of the company's financial balance gives a realistic idea of the ecological level of the ELF Aquitaine Company's technology. Expenditures for protecting the environment make up slightly more than one percent of the company's total financial turnover. For comparison let us point out that in the United States these costs average 2.5 percent and in Japan—three percent of the gross national product. So it would be much more useful to replace the delight with which our mass information media evaluates this latest deal of the century with an objective social-ecological expert review.

Nor do our domestic slick operators lag behind the Western plunderers. Among others, the gigantic octopuses of the ministries of Power and Electrification and of Land Reclamation and Water Resources were the most active plunderers of the Volga for decades. The first turned the **living water** of the Volga into dead water by plugging it up with clots of dams and creating an unbroken chain of decaying reservoirs, and the second—by destroying millions of hectares of fertile meadows and pasturelands in the Volga region through irrational, criminal development.

And how can the flooding of an enormous number of settlements and villages and several ancient cities be passed by in silence? Stavropol was buried by the waters of the Kuybyshev Reservoir, from Kalyazin only the suburban villages remain on dry land, and the entire lower part of the settlement of Myshkin is under water. And the ancient Russian town of Mologa with its churches and magnificent Afanasyev Monastery went under the water of the Rybinskiy Reservoir. And how about the flooded Korcheva and Puchezh?

The tragedy of ancient Volga cities which were ruined is manifested particularly clearly in the fate of Mologa. This city stood for many centuries on the left bank of the Volga, at the mouth of the navigable river Mologa, from which the ancient settlement got its name. In the 12th century Mologa became part of the Rostov Principality and in the 13th century—the Yaroslavl Principality. The tsar of all Rus Ivan the 3rd gave Mologa to the estate of his son Dmitriy, the Volgan prince. A fair famous throughout Ancient Rus was established here. In the 17th century Mologa was a court trading quarter and in 1777 officially received the status of district center.

The city lived its quiet, comfortable life for more than one and one-half centuries. Even the dark days of the ruin of Russia in 1917 seemed to bypass it. Misfortune came in 1936, when the 1 April issue of the newspaper SEVERNIY RABOCHIY published a conversation with the chief of Volgostroy Ya. D. Rapoport, where that person reported on the satanic plan to flood a vast area of Volga territory in connection with the construction of the Rybinskiy GES. According to this plan, the city of Mologa and 663 villages which combined 40,000 peasant households were to be moved. A terrible outrage was visited upon hundreds of thousands of Russian people, and the officials who did this evil painted it in heroic outlines. The protocol of the combined plenum of the gorkom of the VKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)] and the Mologa city soviet announced: "After hearing and discussing the report of the chairman of the city soviet Comrade Nazarov 'On Reconstruction of the Volga' and turning it from a shallow river into a deep one and, through the Oka and the Moskva connecting it with the first capital of the world, the great Red Moscow, the plenum expresses its joy and admiration for the brilliant wisdom of the initiator of the reconstruction of the Upper Volga, our teacher, friend, and chief of the world working class—the great Stalin."

You can judge how the resettlement went by the recollections of witnesses. Brigades of prisoners from Volga Camp went through the villages and expelled the residents by force and by force removed or burned the houses.

It was not only people who suffered. Nature suffered heavily too. The forests which were not saved remained on the bottom—including the northernmost oak forest in the world (and cooperative members now want to raise the water-seasoned oak). About 15 years ago the last remaining forest fell, and now it rots on the bottom. At

low water when the bottom is exposed, from a helicopter this forest looks like densely scattered matches. But no one learned the lesson of the first "experimental" Rybinskiy Reservoir: not one of the bottoms created as a result of construction of subsequent reservoirs was prepared properly. As a result the Volga was turned into a chain of decaying reservoirs. Stagnant processes developed. Living Volga water no longer exists.

And why are all of these outrages being committed? People say that it is to cover the shortage of electricity. But certainly that is a lie. Think, reader, about the following information. The electricity produced by all the gigantic GES's of the Volga series makes up less than two percent of the total volume of electricity produced in the Volga Region (PRAVDA, 18 April 1990). It is precisely for these pitiful two percent that a great river—the cradle of Russia—is being destroyed!

Strife, Discord in Ukrainian Greens Movement Chronicled

Allegations Made

91WN0443A Kiev *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* in Russian
30 Jan 91 p 2

[Article by V. Masarik: "Scandal in a Noble Family"]

[Text] No question about it: Of all the social movements that have sprung up recently in the republic, the environmental movement has to seem the most humane and noble in its idea. Especially since it has been joined by many people who truly support natural conservation. So why has it not become that? The recent conclusions of the auditing commission of "Zeleniy svit," its secretariat's reaction to them, and also impressions left after the founding congress of the party of "Greens" in the Ukraine served as an occasion for reflection and analysis.

It is nearly three years now since the presidium of the Ukrainian Committee for the Defense of Peace, chaired by O. Gonchar, adopted a decision to accept into the bosom of this organization a new social movement with the most noble goals of rescuing the public from environmental disaster—the association "Zeleniy svit." Quite enough time has passed for the population of the Ukraine to feel the changes. For that matter, it has felt them directly: Several pharmaceutical enterprises have closed, as they now say, under public pressure because of certain campaigns by local organizations which were not thought through, but on the other hand were very loud and forceful. Analgin and certain other drugs disappeared as a consequence. So that now people literally have headaches because of environmental problems. "Zeleniy svit" can be given credit for taking part in several rallies mostly under zhovto-blakit [expression unknown] banners, signatures following a number of declarations together with other parties and movements; in adding them, the secretariat of the association was not in the least interested whether the majority of members

supported the statements made in those documents. We can also include in the assets of "Zeleniy svit" the terrorizing of the personnel of the Khmel'nitsa AES [nuclear electric power station], which, alas, did not make its operation any safer. If we add to what we have said a few seminars and "round-table discussions, which did not yield any appreciable result, and their declamatory orientation cannot be listed among their strong points, the pattern of activity of "Zeleniy svit" will be sufficiently complete. Unfortunately, I cannot include among the organization's pluses two factors which the association's leadership considers highly successful. And these are the closing of the Crimean AES and the present size of the membership of "Zeleniy svit." As for the first, the closing of the plant was achieved more by the Crimean Greens themselves, and it was only later that they joined the valorous ranks of the association. As for the 500,000 members of "Zeleniy svit," we can immediately mention in passing the Ukrainian Natural Conservation Society, which up to now has numbered in the millions. And so what? To be sure, there is one other aspect in the activity of the association which for all practical purposes has had the most important role. But on that a bit later.

But now we will return to the conclusions of the auditing commission, which has studied most carefully the performance of the association and its leadership over the first half of 1990.

Judging by the report submitted to "Zelena rada," the conclusions the commission came to are not at all comforting. In the area of finance and physical inventories above all. For instance, even one of the deputy presidents could not clearly answer the questions where, how much, and for what the considerable funds donated to the organization were spent? The same is true of numerous gifts from foreign colleagues in the Green world. Up-to-date equipment, which is still exotic in our country, surprisingly crawled away without ever having been put in the records by anyone, and cash disbursements were made quite painlessly from the general fund. One only had to think up a more or less plausible proposal.

Incidentally, a complete mess is being made with the money. For instance, they ordered 1,200 pins with the "Zeleniy svit" insignia. They were sold at 2 rubles [R] apiece. But some time later, a document signed by staff members of the association was issued to the effect that the pins...were distributed free. Something interesting also happened with the prizes for the sketches made of that same insignia. The prizewinners, for instance, included the wife of one of the deputy presidents, while at the same time another winner of the competition received no prize at all. The objection might be made: Since when is a wife not a person, and could she not be an artist and take part in the competition? Yes. She could be an artist and take part in the competition. But in affairs of this kind and in this kind of organization there is a need to be particularly scrupulous and, as they say, to keep one's hands clean. Otherwise, the result

could be that of the "Mama-86" organization, which cropped up last summer from who knows where. On the one hand, it had a noble purpose: to bring together young mothers whose children were born since the accident at Chernobyl. Once having gotten together, they applied to various international organizations for humanitarian aid. And they actually received that aid. And they distributed it among themselves, their relatives and friends. Including the "leadership" wife mentioned above. One case of a wife could be a coincidence. Two is already symptomatic.

And so is the application abroad. Incidentally, all the members of the secretariat have already gone abroad, some once, and some even twice. Incidentally, contacts with foreign Greens is the only area of the activity of "Zeleniy svit" that has really been developed. Sometimes it even seems that the association has become a branch of "Inturist," except with a green tinge. Trips there, hosting delegations here, have swallowed up most of the association's time and money. Even if you kill me, I cannot understand what specific and constructive thing the republic can get out of it when 16 West Germans tour the Crimea, Odessa Oblast, including Lvov, and the western Ukraine. Perhaps an invitation in return, which is exactly what happened. And how is one to improve the environmental situation in the Ukraine by spending a month in the United States or Canada? But was not this passion for trips the reason why the association's first leadership was removed (after it had been in existence only three years)?

Has not "Zeleniy svit" been abusing the ill-fated party nomenklatura at every turn, unconscionably taking advantage of its official status? And at the same time developing its own (instead of four staff workers approved by the "Zeleniy svit" Congress, there are already eight, and all the salary levels were discussed by members of the secretariat, that is, an elective body), which is diligently taking care that no one from outside is able to get his nose up to this new trough. At the same time, the "Zeleniy svit" leadership is turning this truly noble movement, which is supposed to bring together people with differing political and religious views, into an extremely politicized organization. What is more, this is being done on a personalized basis, action is taken without asking or consulting the rank and file, not all of whom are far to the "left." So much for pluralism.

The secretariat's reaction to the conclusions and actions of the auditing commission might also be instructive in this context. At first, its members were told that there was nothing to check. Then, the commission was accused of being "prosecutorial." Finally, the secretariat held an emergency meeting and a decision whose assessment was that the actions of the auditing commission were aimed at splitting the Green movement in the republic. Well, that tone is familiar. To be sure, it would not be out-of-the-way to remind the secretariat that the commission was elected and approved by the congress and is accountable only to it.

As for the split of "Zeleniy svit," one needs to be completely blind (deliberately or otherwise) not to see that this occurred long ago. On the one hand, we have utterly confused primary organizations that for all practical purposes have been condemned to the whims of fate, which is passed off as "democratization" of the movement, but they are active. A bit clumsy, sometimes even harmful to the cause, but active by their own lights and according to their abilities. On the other hand, there is the newly emerged nomenklatura, which has come to believe in its own right to act in the name of all and everything. I am sure that many Greens do not agree with me. But these are the facts, and if one is not to see them, one needs to have a very strong desire not to do so. Though I understand those who do not want to check it out: it is very bitter and painful to make another mistake. Especially now and in such a cause as this.

Everything said above, unfortunately, can also be applied to the newly created party of Ukrainian Greens. Take just the fact that three programs of the future party were immediately presented for discussion to the delegates of the founding congress; they differed not only in their language, but also in their conceptual approaches, their view of the republic's future structure and its social orientation. Democracy, one might say, is democracy. Fortunately, the delegates were nevertheless able to paste them all together into a single program, which at the same time is not without its interesting aspects.

The section of the program devoted to the future political system of the Ukraine (according to the Party of Ukrainian Greens [PZU]) deserves attention. Especially in the light of the conversation that took place in the corridors of the congress with Sergey Kurykin, one of the founders of "Zeleniy svit" and a participant in that memorable meeting of the presidium of the Ukrainian Committee for Defense of the Peace.

"Why did I not join the party of Greens? My decision was affected above all by the publication of the party's first program, which did not contain a single word about the independence of the Ukraine. Obviously, because this was a 'forbidden' topic. Now it is another matter, now one can speak about it. And then the program is calling for 'dismantling the totalitarian Soviet empire.' That is exactly what it says. The new party thereby demonstrates that it is utterly without principle, and the people who have created it have given people reason to doubt their sincerity. In other words, I do not want to be a participant in yet another deception on the basis of someone's ambition. Because the most terrible thing is that people still believe in the Greens, sometimes even as a last hope. There is one thing of which I am afraid: that the disappointment will come soon and will be bitter."

So, it is difficult not to agree with a man who knows the situation in the Green movement thoroughly from the inside. Although it would be simply dishonest to assert that there are not people in it who are honest and upright and committed to the point of self-sacrifice. There are in fact many of them. It is only a pity that their efforts are

being offset by negative things, big and small, from which a general impression is formed.

Going back to the beginning of our discussion, and precisely to the conclusions of the auditing commission, it is logical to put the question: What now? "Zelena rada" has good-humoredly adopted a decision to "point out," "call attention," and "concentrate efforts." The rest is up to the congress to decide. And Yu.N. Shcherbak, USSR people's deputy, who has examined the conclusions of the auditing commission, by and large acknowledged that they were correct. And without waiting for a congress of the "Zeleniy svit" Association, he submitted a statement that he was resigning from the post of chairman.

'Green World' Secretary Supports Claims

91W'N0443B Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian
29 Mar 91 p 2

[Article by V. Cherenko, secretary of the "Zeleniy svit" Association and people's deputy in the Kiev City Soviet: "A Short Memory Is a Poor Adviser"]

[Text] On 30 January, RABOCHAYA GAZETA published an article entitled: "Scandal in a Noble Family," which had to do with the problems of the present Green movement in the Ukraine, including the association "Zeleniy svit." It spoke in particular about the abuses committed by the new ecobureaucracy and the leadership of "Zeleniy svit," which were detected during an examination by the auditing commission.

We had every reason to expect a reaction from the leadership of the Greens. And we did not have to wait, although it proved to be rather unique. Instead of addressing RABOCHAYA GAZETA directly and confirming or refuting the facts given in the article, the leadership of "Zeleniy svit" turned for some reason to the youth newspapers. Two interviews appeared one after the other. But even in them the representative of the Greens did not convincingly refute a single fact, they preferred to switch to the author's personality, at the same time not forgetting to charge the newspaper with "an offensive against the democratic forces" and even slander, again not troubling about evidence. We should mention that the basis of the article was an altogether official document—the report of the auditing commission elected by the "Zeleniy svit" congress and accountable only to it.

And there is confirmation that everything is not really as well as it might be in "Zeleniy svit" in the letters to the editors whose authors are members of the association. They, by contrast, have written directly to RABOCHAYA GAZETA.

I can imagine what a burst of emotion many people felt reading the article in RABOCHAYA GAZETA entitled: "Scandal in a Noble Family." No wonder, this time, after all, the criticism was voiced not against the party apparatus, the KGB or mafioso departments, which at

this point has been commonplace or even boring. No, this time it concerns a "sacred cow"—the democratic offspring of perestroika—the "Zeleniy svit" Association.

I confess that I myself felt bitterness when I read the article. And, as secretary of "Zeleniy svit," I must acknowledge that what it says is essentially the truth. Though not all of it, because matters are considerably worse. The whole point is that for a long time in the association, in my view, there has been no fight either for the environment or for democracy. For all practical purposes, the administration of "Zeleniy svit" has smothered the aktiv, and has been trying to bolster its authority, which was shaken long ago, by recruiting supporters, resorting to all kinds of pledges and promises. At the same time, scattering around political declarations which at times are absurd, and consoling its inflamed vanity.

Is this not the reason why many of those who were with "Zeleniy svit" from the beginning and actually could have helped substantially in improving the republic's environmental situation, precisely through the association, have left it? V. Polishchuk, doctor of biological sciences, A. Shutko, doctor of engineering sciences, professor, and head of the Department of Industrial Ecology of the Kiev Polytechnic Institute, and many others have not made an appearance for a very long time and for all practical purposes have withdrawn from involvement. These rather substantial people have considered it an impermissible luxury for themselves to spend their time in petty intrigues over the drafting of the next proclamation which is supposed to "turn the world upside down."

In short, there has been a crisis. There is confirmation of this in the last meeting of "Zelena rada," which was held on 2 March. On that day, it was attended by only 56 of its 136 members. And what pains Yu.N. Shcherbak, who chaired the meeting, took to persuade those present to vote in favor of considering the meeting competent to make a decision. And everyone suddenly forgot that a quorum requires at least 91 present, not by any means 56. So much for the question of democracy.

And to what was that meeting devoted? They settled only one piece of business: Where to hold the "Zeleniy svit" congress, in Kiev or Ivano-Frankovsk?

It is no secret that the reason for convening an extraordinary congress was the profound crisis in the Green movement. Many people have already become a little tired of rallies and ritual incantations. And now the question inevitably arises: Where from here? Now (and indeed earlier as well), there is no real council of war that would be a generator of ideas in "Zeleniy svit." However regrettable it might be to make the observation, even Yu.N. Shcherbak, USSR people's deputy, long ago lost his influence. And there are many reasons for this. It is understandable that a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet has many concerns, his position requires his permanent presence in Moscow. For that reason, at this

point he knows practically nothing or very little about the Green movement in the Ukraine, and that mostly from documents and reports. This is presumably why in the narrow circle in meetings of the secretariat one hears more and more often rather cynical remarks to the effect that "we need Shcherbak in the meantime as a banner, and still more his deputy's letterheads and signature, with which people can be asked for things." Necessary in the meantime. And then? And Yuriy Nikolayevich's entire human tragedy is that he does not understand that.

The second reason is Yu.N. Shcherbak's forgetfulness. Perhaps Yuriy Nikolayevich will recall that it was the Greens that first advanced his candidacy and then made him USSR deputy. And while he spent his time in the Creativity Center in Vorzel, the election campaign here was being conducted by his staff, on which I also had occasion to work. As you see, forgetfulness is a poor helper.

But let us go back to the article in *RABOCHAYA GAZETA*. I must acknowledge once again that everything written in it is indisputably confirmed by the results of the examination by the auditing commission. To be sure, I would not dwell on this, but would turn the material over to the KRU [Control and Auditing Administration] and to investigating authorities. How much that is interesting and surprising would be revealed to the eyes of specialists!

In this connection, I cannot but mention immediately two articles that have appeared since the one in *RABOCHAYA GAZETA*. The first was in *MOLODA UKRAINA*, which printed an interview with S. Kurykin, who "happened" to be nearby in the bushes, and the other in *KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA*, where Yu.N. Shcherbak himself spoke out. These two articles have much in common. We should say that they are addressed to a quite different readership than *RABOCHAYA GAZETA*, and it will be simply impossible for people to figure out who is right and who is guilty. And in fact what it is all about anyway. One other trait they have in common is that both are referring in essence to the article: "Scandal in a Noble Family" and behaved in exactly the same way: Instead of a documented refutation of the article, they switched over to the personality of its author. If *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* allowed an inaccuracy or committed "slander," then at least one should prove in those same pages and with the facts that what was written was untrue. That did not happen, and I specifically learned that they did not even apply to *RABOCHAYA GAZETA*. S. Kurykin limited himself to incantations about an "attack of the party apparatus on democracy," never forgetting at the same time to issue an appeal to everyone to join the party of Greens in spite of his own statement quoted in *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* to the effect that he did not want to join it because he did not trust the honesty of its leaders. So much for honesty.

Yu.N. Shcherbak, as is fitting with his rank, went further and literally stated the following in *KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA*: "It is distressing that a noble movement like 'Zeleniy svit' should have its own bureaucrats, schismatics, oppositionists, and even slanderers. I am specifically referring to the article in *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* entitled: 'Scandal in a Noble Family' by my former assistant Vladimir Masarik, whose services I had to give up because of his hopeless laziness." But esteemed Yuriy Nikolayevich's memory is failing him once again. Was it not this same V. Masarik, along with us, who with his articles helped Shcherbak during the election campaign? And was it not he who later, when he became assistant to the USSR people's deputy, while the latter was in Moscow or on endless foreign trips, who kept up with all his deputy's work (and this is also something I know not from hearsay, because at that time, even before election to the Kiev City Soviet, I was an assistant to V. Yavorivskiy and frequently bumped into Shcherbak's assistant in my work)? Is it becoming for a people's deputy of the USSR, a leader of the Greens, to speak so pejoratively about his former assistant? But the very fact that Yuriy Nikolayevich has already managed to discharge three or four assistants also says something. But then where is the slander, if Yuriy Nikolayevich himself acknowledges the document of the auditing commission and the fact that the organization's own bureaucrats have emerged? So much for the question of nobility and slander.

But what do I see as the whole trouble? Here it is. The vain attempts of the "Green apparatchiks" to charge the opposition with an effort of splitting or even destroying the Green movement. The only desire of the Green apparatus is to stay afloat. Our purpose is to revive and depoliticize a truly democratic movement of Greens, whose ultimate goal would be to save our native land. That is precisely the goal that they have forgotten in the present "Zeleniy svit." And a short memory is a poor adviser.

Greens' Lack of Action Claimed

91WN0443C Kiev *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* in Russian
29 Mar 91 p 2

[Article by L. Lysak, deputy of the Zaliznychnyy Rayon of Soviet People's Deputies and member of the Standing Commission for Ecology and the Environment, Kiev: "So Where Are the Greens?"]

[Text] I read the article: "Scandal in a Noble Family" in *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* with some interest. It stirred me to reflection and at the same time it clarified many things.

For example, the utter inactivity of the Greens in our rayon, although there are more than enough points where effort could be applied and there is even a "Zeleniy svit" cell headed by V.N. Timonin.

There is no need to give a great many examples. In our rayon, say, they intend to build a new four-lane highway.

In itself this is a good thing, but it needs to be done intelligently. And the point is that the pollution of the air with gases here already exceeds all conceivable standards. In order to make certain of this, we even set up a kind of station, which at the same time counts the number of vehicles passing by. And in addition the road was supposed to go right past the Amasov Clinic and other medical institutions. But we deputies on the rayon soviet appealed in vain for help from our "Zeleniy svit." As we see, this kind of "trifle" does not interest it. So, we coped on our own: There is not going to be any highway here. It is just a pity that they had already managed to cut down about 1,000 trees belonging to valuable species in Protasovyy Yar.

A second example is the construction of the housing cooperative "Aviator," where quite a few green plantations were also killed. And what did Timonin, chairman of the rayon "Zeleniy svit" do about it? He took a position "based on principle," supporting in every way Zaritskiy, deputy chairman of the rayon soviet, who was himself a member of the cooperative "Aviator," in destroying the rayon's green "lungs."

And I should mention in this connection what an uproar there was when "Zeleniy svit" was being founded. And then, during the election campaign, when the Greens were offended in rallies that their candidates were not being registered, candidates who, they said, would be very beneficial to natural conservation if they were working within the soviets. Clearly, they did not all get into the soviets. But on the other hand there are also many deputies who are not Greens and who are now seeking contacts for a joint effort and are not meeting with any response. As we see, "Zeleniy svit" is not interested in the real struggle for the health of the environment, but specifically in staying in governing bodies. But then what is the point?

I am not indifferent to the health of my native land, and that is why I have followed carefully the activity of "Zeleniy svit," and I even thought of joining it. To be sure, and then I decided against it. Why? Well, there was a lot of ballyhoo and various interviews in the newspapers and on television. But I could not name any specific and really serious deeds of the association. Perhaps because there were none. If there had been, I do not doubt that they would have trumpeted them up and down.

But there were many promises. Where, for example, is that highly advertised international center for pediatric radiology, promised a year ago by Yu. Shcherbak, leader of the Greens? It does not exist. It turns out to be easier to promise than to take an effort to its conclusion.

I know one thing, it does not take much effort to speak in rallies and give all kinds of interviews. Doing a job is a bit more complicated. Perhaps this is why people have lost faith in the Greens and have moved away from them. I know, for example, that the primary organization of our neighbors in Zhovtnevy Rayon has already

ceased to exist for all practical purposes. People got tired of the twaddle. And so far no one has proposed anything to take its place.

'Excessive Politicization' of Movement Cited

91WN0443D Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian
29 Mar 91 p 2

[Article by M. Novitskiy, worker in the "Khimvolokno" Combine and member of "Zelena rada" in the association "Zeleniy svit": "On the Verge of a Split"]

[Text] In my view, the Green movement in the Ukraine is truly going through a bad time. Here, I fully agree with the conclusions of the author of the article entitled "Scandal in a Noble Family," published in RABOCHAYA GAZETA. I see two reasons for this: excessive politicization of "Zeleniy svit" and the substitution of a superficial effect for an effective effort at natural conservation.

After all, what kind of association was conceived? It was supposed to be an organization that truly belonged to the masses, to the people, that would bring together all parties and movements that had sprung up and would spring up in the republic around the noble cause of saving the environment. But that did not happen. What is more, even those illusory hundreds of thousands of members of "Zeleniy svit" who were counted very provisionally are dwindling perceptibly. The reason lies in the extremely thoughtless actions and all kinds of declarations which have been made altogether without basis by the Green bureaucracy, which has already emerged in our organization and cares about no one's opinion. More and more of those who are still members of the association are coming to that conclusion.

For example, I would like to quote an excerpt from a letter I received from S. Shuvaynikov, chairman of the board of the Crimean "Zeleniy svit" Association. It contains the following passage: "The board has commissioned me to express the collective opinion concerning the excessive politicization in the activity of the 'Zeleniy svit' Association through the activity within its ranks of members of the PZU [Party of Ukrainian Greens] and its publication—the newspaper ZELENIY SVIT. In the opinion of the majority, a line has to be drawn between the purely political activity performed directly through the PZU and civic activity concerning the environment, without political aspects, on the basis of principles of democracy, humanism, and survival—through the "Zeleniy svit" Association. Members of the board have expressed fears that the association's activity will soon begin to be perceived as activity of the Party of Ukrainian Greens. There is a serious danger here of losing mass support from the population of the Ukraine. Failing to take note of this is to deliberately adopt destructive principles in the activity of the association and a confrontation and drawing a line of division within the association itself. What is more, this could put in place underwater reefs of a split, which is extremely

undesirable at a time when we need to unify all Green forces for the constructive effort in the name and for the benefit of the Ukraine, the health of its people, and salvation of the environment."

As they say, nothing needs to be added nor taken away. But that is precisely what the present leadership of the association does not want to understand. Especially when it comes to constructive effort.

Just take the petty intrigue over where the congress is going to be held. On the one hand, it would seem, what difference does it make where it is held, just so there are results? In my opinion (and I am not alone), it would be difficult to find a better place than Kiev. This is the easiest place to bring the delegates together, it is easier to put them up here. And as for those same considerations about public relations, here we have the radio, television, and newspapers. But no: the secretariat literally "rail-roaded" the decision to hold the congress in Ivano-Frankovsk, arguing that this would presumably "stir up" the public of the western region. It is clear to any man with common sense that even there the congress will go almost unnoticed for many people. And why specifically do we need to "raise up" the western region and not, say, the eastern region? And even then, the congress is a serious business meeting of like-minded people, not a populist show. And it seems to me that among the reasons for the choice of the place for the congress to be held we need above all to seek out the political reasons. Those are precisely the considerations which "Zeleniy svit" must get away from. And as rapidly as possible.

March Conference Summarized

91WN0443E Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
17 Apr 91 p 4

[Article by Aleksandr Fedorov, PRAVDA UKRAINY special correspondent, Ivano-Frankovsk: "'Zeleniy svit': Where and With Whom? Notes From the Second Congress of the Environmental Association"]

[Text] At the Congress of Greens (it was held 30-31 March in Ivano-Frankovsk), I happened to meet A.I. Karabut, an active participant in the movement for environmental protection who is an associate in one of Kiev's design institutes. It turned out that we were not only born in the same year, we also took part in World War II at the same time. And now we turn out to have similar positions on environmental problems. I shared with Aleksandr Ivanovich my thoughts about my not joining the "Zeleniy svit" Association, because he is also sincerely disturbed about environmental troubles. He noted that he had read my articles in PRAVDA UKRAINY about the chemical disease in Chernovitsa and also other articles in the paper on Chernobyl, the ecology of the Crimea, the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azov, and he believes that we actually are engaged in the same effort as the Greens.

"So that your participation in the association would serve you only as a formal confirmation," the old soldier

said. "But still take advantage of your presence at the congress, take a good look at the people, and only then decide. I want to warn you at once: Just as in any young movement that is gaining strength, you will now meet among us a wide variety of people—from sloggers unselfishly devoted to our idea to careerists who have attached themselves and out-and-out rogues."

And he told me a few rather unsavory stories which were later repeated in speeches from the speaker's platform by him himself and other participants in the congress. Here is one of the stories:

"Not so long ago I happened to make a trip to America with Yuriy Vasilyevich Mishchenko, a member of Zelena rada. He spoke there at meetings with representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora, he portrayed our life in an extremely bad light, he blamed all the troubles on the Jews, Russians, and other non-Ukrainians, he aroused discord and malice between people. And, of course, he tried his best to arouse sympathy and empathy in his audience and a desire to help. But when that help came in the form of gifts—not to him personally, of course, but to the victims of environmental disaster in the Ukraine or simply for the association—he let no opportunity slip to make use of this. In particular, he took all the proceeds in foreign exchange from the sale of our newspaper and pins."

At that point, I expressed the assumption that such cases would be taken into account by the delegates to the congress and hereafter such people would not become part of the association's leadership.

"Unfortunately, our organization has largely taken over the forms and methods—and along with them, the shortcomings—of the command-administrative system," he objected. "There are quite a few people of that kind in Zelena rada. They know a lot about one another and support their own regardless of what it might cost. For them, this effort is a feeding trough. Such a person receives a salary of 300 rubles [R] from the association's treasury (I remind the reader that this conversation took place before the price reform—A.F.), and after all there are quite a few other occasions to live at public expense...."

After such warnings, I naturally began to listen more carefully to everything that was said at the congress and to see the way in which the battle between different groups was being conducted at the congress.

The programmatic address to the congress was delivered by the chairman of the "Zeleniy svit" Association; he is Yu. Shcherbak, USSR people's deputy and the leader of the Greens party that is now being formed. As I listened carefully to this well-known man, I (and probably many others who were there in the room) wanted to hear not only an enumeration of specific environmental actions and the movement's general tasks, not only a sweeping accusation blaming "partycrats" for all the misfortunes—but also an objective and sound analysis of what was successful and what the Greens had been unable to

do, where mistakes had been made, and how to avoid them in the future, whose experience should be studied and followed, what was the best way to organize the effort so that the new movement became massive, to attract into its ranks people with differing political views and positions, but with the same environmental goals.

The report of Yu. Shcherbak did not offer an answer to any of these important questions, and the delegate spoke of this with regret from the speaker's rostrum of the congress (one speaker even referred to the leader of the association directly as a figurehead).

In my view, this is because the "Zeleniy svit" Association, conceived as an organization which was to raise a mass popular movement for a clean environment, thanks to the real and persistent efforts of its leadership, has oriented itself one-sidedly toward the platforms of Rukh and his allies. The leadership has been trying with all its strength to politicize the association, to draw its members into a political opposition within the society, into a struggle for power. And the emphasis on its main goals naturally shifts when there is this orientation in the organization's effort. When the political struggle is raised to the first rank, the basic tasks for which the association was actually founded are shoved into the background. And it is no accident at all that more than half of Yu. Shcherbak's report was devoted to exposition of the political program. He in fact declared that "Zeleniy svit" would be an organization with political features, that this organization could not stand aloof from politics, that, he said, history would not forgive it for that. He also announced that "Rukh" and the URP [expansion not given] are our partners" and that he was proud of close friendship with the Lithuanian "Sayudis."

It would seem (and on this the leader of the Greens himself would surely agree with me) that it would be better if everyone, independently of nationality, religion, and party affiliation, were invited under the banner of the struggle for the nationwide goals of restoring healthy environmental conditions of life, which affect absolutely everyone without exception and which are incomparably higher than narrow party ambitions. But is that really the way things are in "Zeleniy svit"?

Yu. Shcherbak declared in his speech at the congress: "We bring together representatives of different parties. Pluralism is our principle." That is what he says. But what does he do? I was told in the Ivano-Frankovsk Party Obkom that neither its representatives nor emissaries of the republic bodies of the Communist Party of the Ukraine were invited to the congress. And yet you, esteemed Yuriy Nikolayevich, cannot fail to understand that the refusal of your association, in which there are only a few thousand persons, to collaborate with such a powerful political force as the Communist Party of the Ukraine, that confrontation with an organization that numbers in the millions of inhabitants of the republic, and which in addition is open to honest cooperation in the noble cause of protecting nature—clearly does not contribute either to the greater prestige and importance

of the association nor to the cause itself. That being the case, you are deliberately steering your ship onto dangerous reefs of confrontation.

For the sake of the truth, it has to be said that the leaders of the association have actually been pulling the delegates by the ears above all toward politicization of the organization as a whole and of every problem seemingly far from politics. And for them it seems to have had no significance that frequently this "dragging" was illogical and out-of-place. It was thus important once again to give the Communists and their party another "bold" kick for environmental disasters which we have all suffered together and with which we must also cope in that same way, together.

Incidentally, rank-and-file members of the association talk more about specific deeds and the practical effort, about the need to cooperate with natural conservation committees, with the soviets, with all public organizations.

"And what do you think about all this?" I asked A. Karabut, that same delegate from the Kiev organization.

"You see, the chairman of our association is now forming a republic party of the Greens, which by all appearances he intends to orient toward the political platform of our present allies."

"And what is your attitude toward those plans?"

"I, like many of my comrades in the Kiev organization, joined 'Zeleniy svit' in order to honestly and uncompromisingly devote all our remaining strength to solving the complicated environmental problems. And, of course, we do not like it when instead problems are thrust upon us which are sometimes purely political, sometimes separatist, and sometimes concern interethnic relations."

"At this congress, one senses an opposition between the delegates of the western oblasts and the Kiev organization which is the largest in the republic."

"I think that even here the causes are the same, political. What is more, we do not like it when the association's leadership, using the money of our regional organization (incidentally, this very congress was paid for with R10,000 taken from our account), together with the organizations of the western oblasts gets rid of our people from Zelena rada."

This scandal at which A. Karabut hinted and about which many delegates were talking excitedly in the corridors, spilled over into the auditorium when A. Izotenko, chairman of the control and auditing commission, went to the speaker's platform.

He reported to the congress on the intolerably "free" attitude of many responsible persons toward expenditure of money from the organization's treasury. He raised the issue of the basis on which such valuable "gifts" from foreign benefactors as computers, fax machines, video

equipment, and copying machines worth hundreds of thousands of rubles and belonging to the association are being used personally in their apartments by members of the leadership A. Panov, S. Demidenko, Yu. Mishchenko, A. Glazovoy, and others. If all that equipment is not necessary in the headquarters of "Zeleniy svit," A. Izotenko said, then it ought to be turned over to the regional organizations, and not used in the interests of individuals. And no one was surprised that the chairman of the auditing commission should propose that the performance of the association's secretariat over the reporting period be proclaimed unsatisfactory.

The congress lasted two days, and almost that entire time was spent on the struggle for power within Zelena rada, for the high-paid staff positions. The previous leadership, in spite of the documented criticism and incidents that clearly compromised certain candidates, made enviable efforts to preserve everything as it had been. Every time it was felt that someone would lose a vote under pressure of irrefutable charges, Yu. Shcherbak would take the floor and, as they say, assert his authority. But some of the workers promoted to the main headquarters of the association withdrew their nominations demonstratively as a sign of protest against the undemocratic nature of such elections.

This distribution of staff positions, of course, caused dissatisfaction among the delegates, who called upon the presidium to find the time to discuss the report, exchange of know-how, to discuss the problems of regional organizations. But it was felt that the "new" leadership which was made up of the same people as before was not very worried about all that. The effort managed to carve out only a few hours for debating the essence of environmental problems.

And there were interesting speeches.

For instance, G. Goncharenko of Kiev criticized the report of Yu. Shcherbak, the association's chairman, for the absence of a serious analysis of its activity. The speaker emphasized that the doors of the association must always be open to all, especially participants in the environmental movement. "But we members of the Kiev organization," he said, "at one point wanted to take part in a meeting of Zelena rada, and they simply did not let us in. So much for glasnost, for tact, and for ethics."

Ye. Korbetskiy of the organization "Vryatuvaniye," created by the collective of the Nuclear Research Institute of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, spoke about the interesting experience gained by that organization in creating independent voluntary stations for dosimetric monitoring in rayons of Kiev and Zhitomir Oblasts contaminated with radionuclides.

Yu. Vysochin of Cherkassy spoke about cases of pollution of the water of the Dnieper, about the need to call the attention of the general public to these cases and to force the authorities and enterprise collectives to take urgent measures to save the great river.

Along with the specific businesslike speeches, there were also speeches whose main purpose, in the absence of constructive ideas and proposals, was to heat up political passions. But what have the appeals of the writer S. Plachinda, who furiously tried to persuade the delegates that the Ukraine absolutely and as soon as possible needs its own Ministry of Defense and its own Army, have in common with anxiety about the environment?

And still, in spite of those costs, activists of the Green movement can do a great deal and quite often do a great deal in their regions to draw people's attention to acute environmental problems. For which we all should say a sincere thanks to the true devotees of this noble movement.

As I was saying farewell to my new good friend A.I. Karabut, he asked me: "Well, and what happened about your joining the association?"

I replied that I support the Greens with all my heart in their selfless activity. But today I, like many others, am held back from joining the "Zeleniy svit" Association by the unjustifiably high politicization of its program, which is causing a dangerous confrontation in society, and by the outright extremism that is hindering important specific efforts. And this, in my opinion, is the most harmful poison for our environment. And how can I fail to mention here that the main idea of the entire Green movement in the world is to bring everyone together in the name of humanity's survival?

Japanese Businesswoman Outlines Aid Plans for Aral Sea

91WN0467A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 May 91 Union Edition p 7

[Article by B. Reznik, IZVESTIYA correspondent in Khabarovsk: "Will Mrs. Hayasi Help the Aral?"]

[Text] Mrs. Hayasi is the director of the Tatibana Trading Company. She is a successful businesswoman who tirelessly flies throughout the world, the mother of five children, a grandmother, and an outstanding public leader... For many years Hayasi-san has been a member of the board of directors of the "Japan-USSR" Society of the Higa prefecture. At her initiative, Japanese children have the opportunity to rest each summer in the Young Pioneer camps in Khabarovsk Kray, while Soviet children visit Japan during their vacation. She is also the organizer of humanitarian aid to the residents of our kray in the sum of many millions of yen.

Mrs. Hayasi opened her company's representation in Khabarovsk and Riga, and developed several joint enterprises. In all that concerns business she is very restrained and has little to say. Yet recently she returned from a trip to Kazakhstan, phoned the correspondence office, and said that she is ready to tell of her plans to participate in saving the Aral.

It is no accident that Hayasi-san was invited to represent the Japanese business world at the international "round-table" discussion for protecting the Aral Sea which was held in Alma-Ata. The fact is that she carefully studied the problem of the Aral from documents and publications and went to Kazakhstan with ideas and knowledge of Japan's capacities for resolving the Aral question.

[Correspondent] Hayasi-san, I know that you did not limit yourself to mere participation in the meetings, but that you flew to the most remote areas in the Aral and studied the problem on site, so to speak. Has your desire to resolve this question not waned?

[Hayasi] Why no! I had to see for myself the abandoned settlements, to find out how great the infant mortality is in the region, and how immeasurable the grief of the people is, in order to understand that the Aral's troubles are all-human troubles. And I decided for myself—I will do everything to implement a large-scale project—to return water to this sea, and to turn the settlements on its shores into oases.

[Correspondent] It is a noble intention. However, the project will cost many billions, and even with the stable financial position of the Tatiban Trading Company, is it not overwhelming?

[Hayasi] Not only the mightiest company, but even an individual country is not strong enough to implement this project. Serious international efforts are needed. However, Japan, I believe, could take on a special role in this cooperation.

As we know, the water level in the Aral is receding at a catastrophic rate because water is being wastefully diverted from the Amur and Syrdarya Rivers which feed into the Aral Sea, and used for watering cotton and rice plantations. This excess consumption has disrupted the underground system of water circulation in an inadmissible manner. Can this be corrected? Yes, it can. Japan possesses the modern technologies which make it possible to radically change the irrigation systems and reduce water consumption by over 60 percent without reducing the production of rice and cotton.

Another problem is the salt-ridden soil. By returning water to the Aral, we may eliminate the salty soil and turn it into fruitful land which yields rich stable crops. And once again, Japan has the experience for such work. We gained it in a number of countries of the African continent.

[Correspondent] Hayasi-san, once again I return to the mercantile question—from what source do you expect to get the means?

[Hayasi] We spoke about this with Kazakhstan President Nazarbayev. I, for example, intend to organize in Japan a branch of the Kazakhstan Committee for Protection of the Aral Sea, which, I hope, will be joined by representatives of our major firms, concerns, state and non-state organizations. Investing funds into this project, knowing

the current difficult situation of your country's economy, we, of course, cannot expect to receive profits very soon. Contracts on flooding the Aral and improving its lands must be long-term, based on great trust, courage, and an attitude toward prospective cooperation. And then there must be the understanding that the Aral represents a great set of problems, some of which will require a long time to work out. For example, I visited a former fishing village where the people have long suffered from lack of drinking water. They are sick with intestinal and other diseases because they must use water which, in the opinion of the sanitation services, is suitable only for cattle. This problem is characteristic also for other Aral settlements. I asked to be sent samples of such water so that Japanese specialists could study it. After all, they have assimilated the technology which allows them to purify harmful household and industrial sewage to the point where the water becomes improved, and once again suitable for drinking.

[Correspondent] You are assuming a heavy burden. The Aral's problems, I believe, do not promise great prosperity for your business, or in any case certainly not rapid prosperity. Nevertheless, you are agreeing to this. Why?

[Hayasi] I do not want to use lofty words. That is not the custom in my country. Yet I wish your country well with all my heart. I want to help Gorbachev in his efforts to solve the country's economic problems. We, business people, must think not only about a quick profit, but also about the long-term prospects. If only we could remove the numerous obstacles in this path.

[Correspondent] Which ones, specifically?

[Hayasi] Oh, I cannot name them all. While before in your foreign economic activity you had all prohibitions, now Gorbachev has seemingly spilled the basket of toys and said to all: Play freely. Everyone has rushed for the toys without knowing where to put them away later, what shelves to place them on. As a rule, the people who deal with foreign economic activity in your country today are those who do not understand anything about this, those who do not know the elementary rules of the market. This leads to confusion, and many contracts which no one intends to fulfill. Then there are also the totally unpredictable directives, corrections, and limitations on payments. For example, upon agreement with the "Eksportles" association, our company bought half a million dollars worth of goods in the United States. It prepared them for shipment to the USSR, but then suddenly received a telegram: Do not ship the goods, we are prohibited from paying for them. And so, since September of last year the cargo sits at the customs warehouse. Every month we are incurring greater losses—paying for the storage.

...I saw Mrs. Hayasi off to Khabarovsk airport when she was leaving for Japan. Two serious young customs agents zealously dug through her small purse which contained her personal belongings. Seeing this, I burned with

shame. What did they expect to find there? What can a law-abiding person, a friend, take out of our poor country?

I apologized to Hayasi-san. Putting her things back, she smiled knowingly and then suddenly said two words in Russian: "It's a shame, these instructions..."

Environment Minister on Local-National Conflicts Over Preservation Areas

91WN0467B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
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[Article by V. Remizov: "Reporting With Partiality: Poachers in the Law"]

[Text] New life has come to the country's preserves. Forest rangers and scientists, having put aside their customary activities, are defending themselves against the local authorities who have nowhere to graze goats, cows, and reindeer... The logic of the preserves is that they are specially protected territories—the golden reserve of the state, an all-national treasure. The logic of the local authorities is: We live here, and that means all these birds, fish, animals, and the land are ours. Long live sovereignty!

It is curious that the local authorities act according to a single scenario. Without agreeing amongst each other. The geography—the Caucasus, Bashkiria, Tuva, and Turkmenia—is very broad, and plays no significance. A classic example may be the history of the Baykal-Lensk preserve.

According to the testimony of Baykal specialist Oleg Gusev, the Baykal-Lensk preserve was created just in time. It has protected against destructive activity the last Baykal territory which had remained untouched practically since Paleolithic times. There were 15 species of animals and plants in the preserve lands which were listed in the USSR Red Book [endangered species list]. In four years of preserve conditions, there has been a notable increase in red deer, roe, bears, and seals. Animals began appearing in open clearings, even in the daytime.

The problems began unexpectedly. The local authorities, who in 1985 had given the "go-ahead" for creation of the preserve, already in 1986 decided to rescind their "O.K.". The reasons for this? The official reason was that there was nowhere to graze the cattle. However, to be honest, we must say it was because the local hunters could not stand the thought of the animals peacefully wandering throughout the preserve. The dispute arose over three Baykal capes. Their area—only 377 hectares—has great significance for the cause of the preserve due to the special flora and fauna on these capes. To the epithets of scientists—"unique", "a relic", "the only one", "entered in the Red Book"—the chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni 20th Party Congress, who was supported

by the Olkhonsk rayispolkom, presented his own epithets—"deciding the fate of the kolkhoz", "without the capes, the kolkhoz will have to be disbanded".

A special commission of the Irkutsk oblispolkom investigating the conflict came to the unanimous conclusion that these lands (3 percent of all the hay mowing areas) had no "decisive" importance for the kolkhoz cattle. It also stressed that the kolkhoz had received 36,000 rubles as compensation for the capes handed over to the game preserve. Moreover, its plan had been reduced by 5,000 head of cattle, and the kolkhoz workers could fish in the lake and hunt seals. Six members of the commission spoke out in favor of retaining the preserve in its established limits, and one voted against.

It would seem that that would be the end of it, but alas... In 1990 the Olkhonskiy rayon soviet elected a new chairman. And so, on 14 December of last year there were already 45 horses grazing on one of the capes. The basis for this was the resolution of the rayon session of people's deputies. As it turned out, this was a touchstone. In a week the village Soviet announced the resolution to graze 300 head of cattle on the capes. This means that aside from the destroyed capes, the road leading to them will also be stripped of grass—30 kilometers of Baykal mountain slopes in the preserve area.

Only after the emergency intervention of the oblast soviet chairman, V. Potapov, were the rayon authorities forced to bring their actions into line with the "Statute on preserves" and to admit that they were wrong... But will it be for long?

In describing this incident, we have touched upon only the main claims—the territorial ones. The suit is also accompanied by other demands set forth by the local authorities. For example, they want the poor preserve to solve their socio-economic problems, and to develop new lands for the kolkhoz in the form of compensation. They want to be the ones to ratify the preserve officials...

We must pay the ecological commission and the leaders of the Irkutsk oblast soviet their due in the resolution of this conflict. Having assumed the role of arbitrator, they have gotten to the bottom of the situation in all fairness, and in accordance with the law. If they had taken a slightly different position, the kolkhoz workers would have been left without prudent compensation, or the preserve would have incurred unrecoverable losses.

The Tuva authorities acted in a principally different manner. Having on their territory (17 million hectares) only one preserve, the "Azas" with an acre of 333,000 hectares, the republic's council of ministers resolved to cut the preserve by 53,000 hectares. This area was to be used for grazing kolkhoz reindeer. There is no sense in dwelling on this incident—it repeats exactly the "Baykal-Lensk" one, with the only difference being that the local authorities, sensing the support of their council of ministers (for example, the republic's minister of internal affairs himself personally went to investigate the decisive

actions of the preserve director), act much more aggressively. Here too the absence of pasturelands is merely a clumsy excuse. The reason, however, lies elsewhere—the fact that sable, maral [Siberian stag], elk, roe, and Tuva beaver from the endangered species list have significantly increased within the boundaries of the preserve. And it would be alright if the local residents really did have nowhere else to hunt...

The end to the dramatic conflict around the "Azas" must be placed by the developer of the preserve—the RSFSR Council of Ministers, but no one knows when it will have time for this. The Tuva Council of Ministers, however, understanding perfectly well the illegality of its actions, insisted on removal of the "zealous" director of the preserve and the appointment of their own man. It insists also on the unquestioning fulfillment of its own (illegal!) resolution about handing over the preserve lands to the kolkhoz. How will all this end?

In the USSR Minpriroda [Ministry of Nature] we were given the coordinates of still other hot spots. On the territory of the Caucasus preserve the local authorities intend to hold the '98 Olympics. In the Krasnovodsk preserve—they intend to fish, hunt, and graze cattle. The Bashkir preserve has simply turned into a subsidiary farm of the local kolkhozes. Need we continue the list of examples of this national shame?

Commenting on the situation which has arisen, USSR Minister of Land Use and Environmental Protection Nikolay Vorontsov noted: Today we may freely speak of the epidemic of territorial claims by local authorities to the country's preserves. The roots of this illness are the same—a low cultural level of the local leadership, and the inability to understand the true economic, ecological, and moral value of the preserved untouched nature—our most valuable resource. This is on one hand. On the other are the obvious breaches in the effective environmental protection legislation. According to it, our preserves differ in practically no way from registries, which is specifically what the authorities make use of.

The law on specially protected territories of the USSR, whose draft has long been finished, must be reviewed at the fall session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It is absolutely necessary that this law be adopted, believes Nikolay Vorontsov. However, world experience shows that no law, not even the strictest law, will be able to protect our preserve lands if our attitude toward untouched nature does not change, if strict requirements are not set for the level of leaders in the center, the republics, and the local areas, and if the fate of the preserves is not under the constant and unselfish control of public organizations.

**USSR, Republic Population Growth Estimates
From 1991-2015**

91UN1484A Kiev *POLITIKA I VREMYA* in Russian
No 2, Jan 91p 59

[Unattributed article: "How Many of Us Will There Be?"]

[Text] USSR Goskomstat Forecast

The USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] has carried out a preliminary estimate of the population of the country and the union republics up to the year 2015.

The estimate includes a breakdown of the population by age and sex according to the 1989 census, and birth-rate and death-rate tables for 1988. It takes into account USSR Gosplan's figures for migration from rural to urban areas and between republics and possible changes in birth- and death-rates. According to the forecast, the population of the country will change as follows:

Year	Total Population, millions	Urban	Rural	Proportion of Urban Population, percent
As of Year-End				
1990	289.8	191.3	98.5	66.0
1995	301.3	201.6	99.7	66.9
2000	312.7	211.8	100.9	67.7
2005	324.2	221.8	102.4	68.4
2010	336.6	232.2	104.4	69.0
2015	348.9	242.5	106.4	69.5
Five-Year Growth				
1991-1995	11.5	10.3	1.2	—
1996-2000	11.4	10.2	1.2	—
2001-2005	11.5	10.0	1.5	—
2006-2010	12.4	10.4	2.0	—
2011-2015	12.3	10.3	2.0	—

During 1991-2015, the population will increase by 59.1 million, or 20 percent. The rate of population growth will have a slight declining trend: by the end of the century the population will be increasing at an average annual rate of 0.8 percent, and at 0.7 percent during the next 15 years.

Because of the high birth rate in the republics of Central Asia, the average growth there will be 2-2.6 percent per year. At the same time, the population of the Ukraine will be increasing by only 0.13 percent, and that of the Baltic Republics, Belorussia and the RSFSR by an average annual rate of 0.3-0.5 percent.

By the end of the year 2000, the Central Asian republics will have some 14 percent of the country's population,

with more than 17 percent by 2015, as against 11 percent in 1989. By the end of the century the share of the RSFSR will be less than one-half (49.7 percent), and 47.5 percent by 2015, whereas now it is 51.5 percent.

From 1991 to 2015, the able-bodied population will increase by 29.2 million, or 18.2 percent. Three-quarters of this growth will be in the republics of Central Asia and Transcaucasia and in Kazakhstan, which will aggravate the employment problem in those areas even more. By the end of this period 30 percent of the country's able-bodied population will be concentrated in those republics. The numbers of this population group will decline in the Ukraine during 1991-1995, and in 2006-2015 it will decline by 1,300,000 in the RSFSR and by 600,000 in the Ukraine. The able-bodied population will also decline during some periods in Byelorussia, Latvia and Estonia.

Population of the Ukrainian SSR (as of year-end, thousands)

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
Total population	51,680	52,181	52,600	52,960	53,277	53,450
Urban population	34,959	36,472	37,778	38,804	39,624	40,246
Rural population	16,721	15,709	14,822	13,653	13,204	

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"Politika i vremya", 1991.

Founder on New Leningrad Psychiatric Assistance Group

91US0548A Leningrad CHAS PIK in Russian No 16,
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[Interview with Roman Matveyevich Voytenko, founder of the Fund for Social Psychiatry and Rehabilitation, by Tatyana Chesnokova: "One Ruble In, Two Out—This Was How They Joked About Soviet Psychiatry. But the Situation Has Gradually Been Changing"]

[Text] Recently, the Presidium of the Lensovet [Leningrad City Soviet] registered an organization which among other things assumed the defense of persons with mental problems. This is the Fund for Social Psychiatry and Rehabilitation. (Under it is the Center of Social Psychiatry.) The aim of the Fund is the "realization and protection of the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and freedoms of persons who have neuropsychic problems, protecting the health of the public as well as establishing a system of sociopsychiatric defense of persons who have come under the scrutiny of the state psychiatric institutions." The location is No 1 Prospect Moskvinoi. The inspirer and organizer is Roman Matveyevich Voytenko, professor and head of the Chair of Psychiatry and Medical Psychology at the Leningrad Institute for the Advanced Training of Expert [Examining] Physicians (LIUVEK).

And so there I was on Prospect Moskvinoi, in the building of the psychiatric hospital (this building had been built in the times of Alexander III as a hospital for the poor). And here was the Psychiatry Chair of the LIUVEK and hence the office of Roman Matveyevich, so to speak, the physical plant of the Fund.

[Chesnokova] Presently, the press is full of and is actively discussing sensational psychiatric cases, for example, about the man who attacked Brezhnev. Or the cases when psychiatry was employed for repressive purposes. The newly organized Fund will primarily oppose such a use of psychiatry?

[Voytenko] The role of punitive psychiatry in the USSR is generally known. With good reason, the Soviet psychiatrists at one time, to put it mildly, were asked to leave the International Psychiatric Association. But the use of psychiatry for political purposes is merely the tip of the iceberg which was pointed out by the human rights movement in the nation and abroad. Everything was much more profound and terrible. About 18 months ago, a woman came to us, at the already "defacto" operating Center for Social Psychiatry and Rehabilitation with a request for help in psychiatric rehabilitation. It turned out that she was a professor, the head of the chair of obstetrics and gynecology at one of the medical institutions in the Ukraine, she had been the chief specialist in the oblast and a very respected person. But then once the "first lady," the wife of the obkom secretary came to her for a consultation and left feeling that the professor had not shown her due respect. Of course, she complained to her spouse. And that was how things started! Initially,

the professor was "advised" not to participate in the next competition for filling the position and then, when she tried to protest, a diagnosis was given of "schizophrenia" and she was dismissed. She came to us after five years of unsuccessful "haunting of thresholds" at the official psychiatric services. We conducted an inpatient psychiatric evaluation and achieved the complete rehabilitation of this woman through the procuracy and the courts.

As you know, it is currently the habit to belittle the Lensovet for incompetence, slowness and nonprofessionalism.... But all the same.... The democratic Lensovet is very important. We immediately felt support in all the commissions where we turned. The Lensovet deputy, Yu. Frolov, became literally the godfather of our Fund, we were actively aided by A. Sobchak who immediately understood the importance of the proposed system for the defense of human rights, by his deputy V. Shcherbakov, the chairman of the Human Rights Commission Yu. Rybakov and many others.

[Chesnokova] But certainly it is not merely a question of the state authorities. The people, the regular citizens, are afraid of the mentally ill and they hesitate to work with them around as "you never know what is in their heads."

[Voytenko] A person must not be pressed, he should be given more space and then he will not bother you. In the traditions of Orthodoxy there is a kind, gentle attitude toward God's fools. They were pitied, cared for, no one was harmed by them and they lived along with ordinary persons. In the Western countries, the mentally ill were considered possessed by the devil, they were put in chains and tied up. But here we managed to take on the worst features. The mentally ill can find his place in normal life and bring benefit. There is no need to conceal him in a hospital as that is no solution. It is essential to help the person adapt, to find a job and establish a family. He can be happy and bring happiness to others. Unfortunately, people often lack patience. We had a case of an epilepsy patient who had rare convulsive attacks and who worked as a foreman repairing household refrigerators. He was an excellent specialist and, in addition, he was very punctual, neat and careful—all character traits inherent to epileptics. Everything was going fine. But then interruptions occurred with the delivery of spare parts. The man did not want and could not work half-heartedly as this went contrary to his character and conflicts began with his superiors. He demanded high-quality spare parts and ultimately the irritated leadership dismissed him, taking advantage of "Order 700" according to which, in particular, an epileptic cannot work with electrical equipment.

Or, I know a very good hairdresser who at times hears "voices from people from outer space" and at such times is frozen in place. Should she be dismissed?

[Chesnokova] A person with scissors in their hands, listening to "voices" and bending over a completely unsuspecting client...is that not frightening?

[Voytenko] But what stops a person with problems from buying scissors, a knife, a razor or a hatchet? And what is this problem? And just how many people are there who can be seen with problems with a strange look?

Possibly, everyone could be sent to the psychiatric hospitals in the aims of a complete examination and safety for the rest of the population...of which there would be none remaining. Let us focus on man and not on the state and then everything will be in its place. It is essential to do what is convenient for man and not for what is convenient for the state machine. There must be the principle of the presumption of mental health. The particular features of human conduct should not be hurriedly interpreted as requiring treatment or isolation. First of all, it is essential to see the individual uniqueness, the variations of the norm. And here we can feel the defect in the training of our psychiatrists. They immediately begin studying the sick person without having become acquainted beforehand with what a healthy person is and they have a poor knowledge of psychology.

[Chesnokova] Let us assume that a person is registered at a psychiatric outpatient clinic. In his opinion, this has become the reason for his unjustified dismissal from work. Can he come to you for help?

[Voytenko] Yes he can. There is an already worked-out procedure. A person turns to the court and asks the procurator to forward a request to us so that we have the grounds for conducting an evaluation. In the court the examining expert acts as a witness. We have been engaged in such situations for several years now. At present, after the registering of the Fund, this work will assume an official context. Finally, an evaluation organization independent of the departments has appeared.

I want to emphasize that the activities of the Fund in no way replaces the departmental evaluations. As long as there is no "man—department" conflict, everything goes according to usual. But if a conflict arises! Then the existence of the Fund and the Center of Social Psychiatry provides a person with an opportunity through the procuracy or the court to request the holding of a nondepartmental independent evaluation. We, naturally, cannot provide a guarantee that the question will be settled in favor of the person being evaluated. We merely promise that the evaluation will be independent, objective and competent.

[Chesnokova] Would you list in what situations help can be provided by the Center of Social Psychiatry and Rehabilitation?

[Voytenko] In situations involving decisions by the medical-psychiatric evaluation commissions, such as forensic-psychiatric (the evaluation of persons under investigation and persons in incarceration); military-psychiatric (evaluation of inductees and servicemen) and labor-medical.

In settling questions of the social rehabilitation and assessing the state of the mental health of persons who

have turned on this matter to the bodies of Soviet power, the procuracy and the courts

In conducting independent inpatient and outpatient medical-psychiatric evaluations.

In defending the rights of persons with neuropsychic problems (job placement, freedom of movement, the registering and removal from registration with the PND [psychiatric outpatient clinic?] and hospitalization)

In addition, the center will be involved in the training and advanced training of psychiatric physicians in the area of social psychiatry and medical psychiatric evaluation. We also plan to establish a department for investigating nontraditional methods in medicine which are close to psychiatry and psychology (parapsychology, clairvoyance and extrasensory perception).

[Chesnokova] And how will the financing questions be resolved? At present, cost accounting structures are widespread.

[Voytenko] You mean a person coming to us for help would pay for an independent evaluation? Is independence so good! I am convinced that society as a whole should guarantee the defense of its members against abuses. Our Fund is one of the mechanisms for such defense. The Fund has at its disposal a start-up capital which has been formed from charitable sources and from dues. We possess offices and skilled co-workers. We are inviting all of those who wish to participate in the struggle in psychiatry against abuses by the state and officials to collaborate. The activities of the Fund do not pursue commercial goals and are of a charitable nature. In the Soviet Union, the Fund is supported by various social organizations which have come to the defense of human rights, by the democratic movements and parties. Organizations and individuals can become Fund members. Our contact telephones are: 251-95-98, 251-95-92 (from 1000 to 1500 hours); our payments accounts are: in rubles 57010461904 at the Leningrad Union Commercial Bank MSO 161013; for an exchange account 670831519/001, and the blocked account 570601519/001 in the Northwestern Regional Bank of the USSR Vneshekonombank [Foreign Economics Bank].

[Chesnokova] Now things seem to be taking a swing to the right....

[Voytenko] It does happen that a person has almost made it to the shore when all of a sudden another wave sweeps in and threatens to carry him back into the deep. It is essential to clutch the rocks, the land and hold on with all one's might. The main thing is to hold on at the line reached. We are all in this situation. At present, each of us must not surrender a single inch of the already won freedom.

[Chesnokova] ...I was taken through the hospital. There were wards of 20-30 persons (and these were mentally ill! with various problems!) where people like it or not were forced to get accustomed to one another. An elderly man

in pajamas was sharing his plans for influencing the mind of the President. He was convinced that the President would obey him. Another nearby was lamenting as someone had taken away his glass from home and they should not.

I learned that there were more persons who had recently come for social rehabilitation but, having seen that during the evaluation they would have to stay with 20-30 mentally ill in a single ward, many refused attempts to regain their rights. Among those who agreed, it is said, there have been mental breakdowns. If there were fewer in the wards.... If the patients under evaluation were kept separate from those who were there for treatment.... If, if.... Will it ever be? We have the opportunity to support those who are striving for this.

Academician on Crisis in Soviet Medical Care

91US05364 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 21, 29 May 91 p 7

[Interview with Andrey Ivanovich Vorobyev, USSR people's deputy, general director, All-Union Hematological Scientific Center, and academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, by Antonina Galayeva, correspondent: "'I'm Stealing from Myself...': Will Our Medical System Survive the 'Embraces' of the Market?"]

[Text] Not only the store counters but also the pharmacy shelves are empty everywhere. How are we to live? How are we to recover from diseases when we are frayed by fear about the morrow, upset and confused by the universal deficit and shortages everywhere? It's as if we were drawing things from a lean purse. What place has been prepared for our long-suffering medical system in the crush of the marketplace? Will it be able to survive? Our correspondent Antonina Galayeva met with A. Vorobyev, USSR people's deputy, general director of the All-Union Hematological Scientific Center, and academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. The interview is presented below.

[Galayeva] Andrey Ivanovich, the market-type system is approaching you; it will enter upon your center; and there is no place where you can hide from it. Just how do you intend to become a part of these new economic conditions?

[Vorobyev] I don't understand very well what the market means as applied to the medical system. Because, after all, the latter is one of the most remunerative fields of human activity. Its "product"—human health—is valued throughout the entire world at the highest "rate of exchange." And medical institutions and medical personnel are extraordinarily rich and well-provided for.

[Galayeva] But you wouldn't say that about our country.

[Vorobyev] That's because we live in a paradoxical world, one where everything is upside down. In such a situation, will our medical system rush headlong into a

market-type economy? I don't know; I'm not at all sure. The state-budget type of medical system is essentially not so bad. It's incorrect to think that all the troubles and misfortunes in the health-care field stem merely from the fact that here in our country we do not have an insured-type system, as most of the countries in a market-type economy do. This is known by anyone who has ever had anything to do with our Gosstrakh [State Insurance]. May God grant that we are never crippled by an "insured" motor vehicle!

[Galayeva] But it's obvious that there is some kind of advantage to an insured type of medical system, inasmuch as the entire world lives under its protection. And even in our country there has long been discussion about converting our medical system from a budgetary type to an insured type of structure.

[Vorobyev] An insured-type medical system has its own major shortcomings: it is directed at protecting the health not of an individual, specific human being, but rather the entire community which it serves. Because, after all, in order to survive, an insured-type medical system must extract the maximum income. But for this purpose it must insure those who are more healthy. The price of insurance (i.e., the "premium") paid by a patient increases proportionately to the degree of risk to the physician. This is dictated by the rules of the game, this is dictated by the market. My neighbor's "house" also has an insured-type society. And in order that patients may come to me, for example, rather than to my neighboring colleague, I must provide better cures for them. But I cannot turn out to be the loser in this. And therefore, my colleague and I will strive with all our might to provide persons with good health, without neglecting, in the process, to "fleeced" them as much as possible. Health is a very expensive pleasure.

[Galayeva] How high are the rates or fees?

[Vorobyev] They are determined by many factors: Do you smoke? Or do you, while a perfectly healthy person, have children who suffer from a hereditary ailment (diseases in such children frequently manifest themselves earlier than in the parents)? Or is your brother a chronic ulcer patient or asthmatic? That means that you are a patient from a high-risk group. Kindly pay more than all the rest.

[Galayeva] Could it be, then, that we are trying in vain to imitate foreign systems, including those in the market and in medicine? Could it be that the state-budgetary system would really turn out to be best for Soviet medicine after all? On the other hand, however, our homeland has become so impoverished that it allocates just "crumbs" for the health of its own citizens. Because, you know, the notorious residual principle is operational here even nowadays.

[Vorobyev] Our state, alas, is in agony. Nevertheless I am firmly convinced of the following points. We have not begun to work any worse than, before. And people plow the land just as they did in better times, and last year's

harvest was unprecedented. And so someone must have taken a great deal of trouble and expended great efforts to see to it that this harvest did not reach the store counters and shelves! What does it mean to say that the medical system is short of money? The press is filled to the brim with calls to pass the hat around in order to collect hundreds of thousands of dollars to provide treatment abroad for children in need of bone-marrow transplants. But did you ever have occasion to hear or read anywhere that right here in our country, in the Soviet Union, bone-marrow transplants are being performed, and with no less degree of success?

[Galayeva] Evidently a stereotype has evolved to the effect that this country has run out of not only money, but also brains and "golden hands," that we ourselves are no longer capable of doing anything. But just where are these medical centers which you spoke about above?

[Vorobyev] Why, right here in Moscow alone there are more of them than in any other capital city in the world! As far back as 1974 our work was published dealing with the transplanting of bone marrow to two patients suffering from radiation. This was performed at the Biophysics Institute. And to this very day they are continuing to transplant bone marrow there. And our center is doing similar work. The results of our transplants are in no way different from those done in the West. We transplant bone marrow using the same programs and the same means. But how much do you think is allocated to us for this operation, bearing in mind that for the whole course of treatment in America one must pay 200,000 dollars, while each bed costs something on the order of 1,000 dollars a day?

[Galayeva] Well, probably, if the analogy holds true, it would come to 1,000 rubles per day.

[Vorobyev] What would you say if I told you it was two and a half? I mean two rubles and fifty kopecks!

[Galayeva] But what could you perform for such a pittance?! At best, you could give a couple of enemas. It would not be surprising if you were to give up this occupation....

[Vorobyev] That would be terrible. To be sure, we could manage to treat and cure fewer patients: 12-13 instead of 40.

[Galayeva] But that would be bad too, although some people would be happy. But...just how are you extricating yourself from this problem. Where do you earn money?

[Vorobyev] I steal it! I'm stealing money from myself, i.e., from my center. I take it from scientific topics and projects. Thus, people should now be working to discover new and better methods of treatment, but I'm taking money from them and spending it on medications. Transplanting bone marrow is not such a great scientific skill. It's already a smoothly running practical procedure. But there's no money. Last year, moreover,

the Ministry of Health issued an order providing for an allocation to us of 90,000 rubles for each transplant operation. So far we have not received any of this. However, someone needed to found yet another hematological institute in the capital. It's a children's institute and would be the third in number. Furthermore, Moscow already has more than 10 hematological departments. The working conditions in them are repulsive. Material and financial support is insignificant. Everything is scattered, dispersed, and makes no sense from an organizational point of view. Thus, instead of assembling some specialists and assigning them to normal tasks under normal conditions, what is being created is yet another institution doomed to beggarliness.

[Galayeva] What is meant by normal conditions?

[Vorobyev] Precisely known and written treatment procedures for all diseases. These are standard for the entire world. And the results of treatments performed strictly in accordance with such procedures are universal. To achieve success, all that is required is to provide them with medications. We do buy them or requisition them! But we don't treat people in accordance with the written procedures. And so everything is for naught—the medicines and the money. If a physician were to be held responsible and evaluated by the percentage of his patients recovering and by their life spans as a whole, he would hardly depart from such proper, written procedures.

[Galayeva] But can physicians really act so arbitrarily and on their own? After all, human life is "on the line"....?

[Vorobyev] They are compelled to act arbitrarily and on their own, as you expressed it, by the conditions under which they most often have to work. Take, for example, the well-known disease cancer of the lymph glands [?]. Too few people know that approximately 80 percent of persons suffering from this disease can be fully cured. But this requires a rigorous, lengthy, and exhausting treatment program. But if persons are treated not in accordance with this program, they will all die—with very rare exceptions. Or take the example of another equally well-known disease—acute children's lymph-type [?] leucosis. It should be cured in a minimum of half the cases, and—according to present-day Western data—in 70-80 percent of the cases. But this is a risk-laden therapy: one-three percent of the children can die from the treatment process itself. Pardon me, but that's the way it is!

[Galayeva] That's what is called God's will....

[Vorobyev] But it's always the physician who gets scolded. People say: "Well, you're the one who treated him, and the patient got worse." But what can we do?! In general, antitumor treatments are very severe; sometimes they result in fatal complications. In transplanting bone marrow, 40 percent of the patients die. But without such transplants—all 100 percent die! There are physicians who do not use this risk-laden therapy. It requires

extremely strict discipline and separate wards. But in our country, as always, everything and everybody are packed tightly together. And so people are treated somewhat more simply. And everything is wasted; everything is for naught—time, medications, means....

[Galayeva] And now, with the approach of the market-type system, all these "means" have obviously begun to go up in price. Isn't that so?

[Vorobyev] I've just had submitted to me a compilation of the costs of medical materials and equipment. No matter how you look at it, the prices on these things have jumped up by factors of three, five, or nine. And so even fewer patients will obtain help, and even fewer bone-marrow transplants will be performed.

[Galayeva] You are being persistently pushed toward a situation in which you've begun to appraise or evaluate your own "custom-made" work more and more expensively. In the final analysis, you will probably come to this. And people will pay you; there's nowhere else for them to go to—nobody but you will help them. Am I right?

[Vorobyev] People say the following to me: Conclude a contract with the republics; ask them to set aside 100,000 "wooden facilities" for transplanting bone marrow. Once I was in Uzbekistan, and I saw a rayon-level hospital near Bukhara. It was a barracks-type building. It had a fence, and beyond the fence there was a hole in a field. That, if I may say so, was the toilet. Alongside this hole was a spade with which a parent was shoveling children's biscuits (?) into the pit. That's the kind of hospital it was. And then there's our institute. What money was used, may I ask you, to build it? Well, it included some of the money that was not used to build that hospital. And so now am I supposed to take 100,000 rubles from that wretched Uzbek, unclothed, shoeless, and left without water or elementary facilities for transplanting a bone marrow? Should I proceed to such a pitiless cost accounting under the conditions of our sick economy, our utterly distorted reciprocal relations between the center and the periphery...?

[Galayeva] However, insurance contracts could be concluded—and there has been frequent discussion of this in the press, including in your medical press—not with individual citizens, but with institutions and enterprises. They would pay you for their own staff members if it should happen that they had leukemia, for example.

[Vorobyev] Where would they get the money? From the fund for social, cultural, and everyday purposes, most likely, or where else? From the housing funds by means of reducing the number of square meters or "freezing" the waiting lines? Or would these enterprises have to raise the costs of the products being turned out: open-hearth castings, machine tools, motor vehicles, refrigerators...? (By the way, they are doing this anyway.) We are being set against each other these days—the intelligentsia against the common people, peasants against city people.... We are supposed to "flay" each other. You can

see what kind of muzzle has been put upon the common people: Milk is being sold at a price which is less than its production costs! And where, if you'll excuse me for asking, did this production cost go to? It was freely used to arm Saddam Husayn. Was such money used to arm "Third World" countries at a time when we ourselves could scarcely make ends meet? And now we scold pensioners—those people who bore on their own shoulders wars, the space program, and the arms race—for supposedly sitting on the neck of the state because they draw subsidies. Subsidies to the food industry are a common matter throughout the world. They are determined not by the correlation between the price on the shelf and that on the livestock-raising farm, but by the state budget as a whole and by the degree or level of military expenditures. In our country, which has not been at war for a long time, which has enormous harvests and gigantic raw-material resources, the people's health and prosperity are declining catastrophically. Are the working people to blame for this? Of course not. It is the leadership, the upper echelons of power which are at fault. And so that the working people not "rise up" too much they are palmed off onto Kashpirovskiy and Chumak, without sparing screen time.

Let's make the transition to a market-type system. But not at the expense of losing the principles of general accessibility. And let's do this openly and aboveboard. We are always being compelled to lie. We don't have to go far to find examples of this. Our center has a one-day, in-patient unit. Many blood tumors were formerly absolutely fatal, and they were treated for years. Nowadays such patients are not even hospitalized; they undergo a course of treatment at the one-day, in-patient unit. Here they are given a very expensive, anti-tumor medication; they are fed a dinner, walk around, and by evening they are discharged and allowed to go home. But! According to the breakdown as calculated by the Ministry of Health, the one-day cost of the medications and blood preparations comes to 65 kopecks. However, the actual expenses amount to 14-15 rubles. On a per-patient, per-diem basis, 1.5 rubles are allocated, whereas the de facto costs of serving and treating such a patient amount to about 15 rubles. How can we operate this way? Who are we trying to deceive and why? It's high time that we decentralized everything; the Ministry of Health should no longer run the health-care system.

[Galayeva] All the more so under market-type conditions....

[Vorobyev] How can we plan treatments ahead of time? Issue rigorous medical norms, see to it that they are very strictly adhered to—that's one thing. And this must be within the jurisdiction of an upper-level administrative organ. Because it has high-powered consultants, it would decide the strategic tasks to be assigned. We must not be excessively petty in our calculations. The Ministry of Health should determine or specify the quality of the medicines, the sanitary norms, the standards ensuring a life span comparable with the developed countries. It's no sin to adopt or even imitate the monitoring councils

from the West. But let the local authorities finance health care to the extent that it is necessary to prevent it from being second-rate. Then we need specialists again, rather than "wheeler-dealers" or "operators."

[Galayeva] And so, it goes without saying, before you can make the transition to market-type relations in your field, you must, at last, find freedom....

[Vorobyev] Of course. But if we wish the medical system to enter into the marketplace as a healthy entity, the state must immediately cease its war on science. What a shameful thing that is! There is always a cult of charlatans, quacks, rascals, and swindlers on our TV screens. Until we put a stop to this turbulent and muddy stream, there can be no talk of a normal market in the medical system.

Politburo's Semenova on Women, Politics

91UN1557A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 91
Second Edition p 2

[E. Shcherbanenko report on press conference given by G.V. Semenova, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; place and date not given: "The Voice of Women in the Register of the Times"]

[Text] This press conference is worth talking about in more detail. It was surprisingly human. Although nothing, it seemed, was conducive to this: neither the very sensitive subject—"Women and Politics"—nor the people who gathered in the hall—journalists from publications of the most contrasting orientations. On the stage is an elegant woman; it is G.V. Semenova, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The discussion was the kind that was of interest not only to journalists. Therefore, some of the questions and answers are almost documental.

[Question] After Furtseva, you are the first and only woman in such a high post. It will soon be exactly a year. How do you feel? Are they paying attention to you? What could you note that is positive and negative in the Politburo?

[Semenova] Is it difficult for me? I always put the question differently: Is it not difficult with me? I have neither the length of service nor the experience in party work.

What did I fear? That everyone would think of my job as the "traditional women's chair" in the present structure. Therefore, I am interested in and try to express myself on all questions, not only "women's" issues. Today, when I remain silent, I am asked anyway. This is pleasant.

Shortcomings in the Politburo? I have nothing with which to make a comparison. But I like the democratic nature of the situation. I like the fact that here it is not the power of authority that is important but the power of ideas and prestige.

[Question] The path of women in politics has always been the classical one. But how did you get to the Politburo?

[Semenova] My road here is not the traditional one, but, I think, it is a natural one, if you interpret perestroika in its true meaning.

I came to the Politburo, I repeat, not from the system but from journalism. It was my participation in politics. Moreover, I think that it is not the worst way of getting introduced to life. A journalist knows it no worse than many politicians. Moreover, he sees not only the forest but the trees also. For those interested, I will say: I had no previous personal meetings with either Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev or Raisa Maksimovna...

[Question] Do you not feel lonely in the men's corridor of power? Perhaps it is more accurate to call today's conversation: "Politics in the absence of women?" Except for you, there are practically none of them in this field.

[Semenova] The participation of women in politics is not only women in office—it is a readiness to express one's position. This definitely exists, and is gaining in scope. While at the dawn of perestroika the women's movement was narrow and homogeneous, today everything is different. Here and there associations, unions, and all kinds of groups are emerging. The women's movement, whose diversity we welcome, gives rise to constructive ideas and worthy leaders. Tomorrow these leaders will also come into the power structure. Of course, this will make me happy.

[Question] Politics without women. Is this not a natural result of the activity of the CPSU?

[Semenova] The fact that the "second sex" does not hold a deserving place here is definitely the fault of the state. The last decree of the party on this question is dated 1929. For exactly 62 years the party did not broach the idea that women require a special approach and attention. However, this is natural. It is precisely at that time that politics became more "peopleless," and the individual left it.

It was exactly in the logic of the return to the individual that a Central Committee commission was created on women's and family issues, and that this whole direction, in fact, began to be developed in the activity of the CPSU.

[Question] Is the resolution of the women's issue possible only through the efforts of political parties?

[Semenova] Of course not. In this sense we have a serious claim against the state. All kinds of ministries have already been approved at meetings of the USSR Supreme Soviet, but it seems that there continues to be a holdup in the work of the committee on the family and

women's affairs. Moreover, there is talk that this committee will not be part of the Cabinet of Ministers but attached to it in some way. If it is "attached," there are fewer rights...

It is the kind of mistake that is similar to a lot of others that have already been made. In my opinion, mistakes have been made in price reform and in the system of compensation payments. It was possible to correct some things. It was because of the participation of our commission that an ukase was adopted on additional compensation for children's clothing.

[Question] Do you approve of the financing of especially needy women at the expense of CPSU property?

[Semenova] I approve of it.

[Question] Nevertheless, the progress of women in politics is barely noticeable. Out of the 38 speakers in debates at the last joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, only two were women.

[Semenova] I will add further: In 125 obkoms and kraykoms [oblast and kray party committees] there is not one woman all in all in management.

But it is not just a matter of the number. What is more distressing is the "quality" of women's participation. The first woman speaker, an operator from Bashkiriya, called for going back to the force of pressure and to an authoritative structure, and Lyudmila Arutonyan, who is known to everyone, spoke with the usual tone of passion and extremism. The women's voice must be heard in a different register... It is for creating, but not for breaking.

[Question] The question of a woman as a candidate for the presidency of Russia has arisen. The names of Starovoytova and Goryacheva are mentioned. Whom would you like to see as the president, the vice president, and the mayor of Moscow?

[Semenova] I do not choose names, but programs. Moreover, it is not necessary to forecast anyone's victory, the voters will do this.

But a woman at the helm of Russia? I, of course, would want this. But I am not utopian, and I understand that even if a woman contender were a Solomon in a skirt, her chances of victory are slight. Public opinion is not ready for this. But I am pleased by the nomination of a woman. Let public opinion get used to it.

[Question] Which women's movements seem to you to be especially worthy of attention?

[Semenova] There is a higher truth in any argument, this is sociology, and I will use its results for an answer. The most prestigious and powerful women's organizations, funds, and societies today are those that are associated with philanthropy, charity, the protection of life, which is so vulnerable today, and the environment. Sociologists put in second place organizations that defend individual

rights, such as "Memorial," and the "Society of Soldiers' Mothers." I personally established the very same priorities.

[Question] Today, a lot of confused women are turning to religion. What do you think of this?

[Semenova] In that place where religion is a friend of the family, it is our ally. For example, there is a department for family problems in the Vatican. When I was there recently I asked for an audience, without mentioning any kind of "titles," and simply as a Supreme Soviet deputy. On the envelope with the invitation from the Roman pope there was a full list of my "regalia," which means that he is obviously interested in our country. We had an excellent philosophical conversation about the world, and about the fact that confrontation and politics should not come into a family.

[Question] Excuse me, we are also interested in the other half of your life. Very often a woman being in politics is detrimental to her home. But how is it in your home?

[Semenova] It is not easy... A regular 12-hour workday obviously does not promote the role of housewife... But I have a good house. Perhaps not very "clean" outwardly, but it is cozy. Mother does all of the housework. My husband is a journalist.

But they are not troubled by everyday living, but about the fact that I changed my successful work for my current position in the political "drafts" and winds of change.

[Question] Are you confident that discussion of the role of women in politics today is topical? It seems that there are many more important questions in the country.

[Semenova] Among the anticrisis measures, I would absolutely include precisely this—the active role of women in politics.

Semenova Interviewed on Personal Background, Women's Issues

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pp 3-10

[Interview with Galina Vladimirovna Semenova by Lt. Col. S. Temirbiyev: "Now Is a Time for Individuals"; date and place not given]

[Text] KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL receives a great many letters from the wives of military servicemen with requests to meet on the pages of the magazine with Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee secretary, people's deputy of the USSR, candidate of philosophical sciences and former chief editor of the magazine KRESTYANKA, Galina Vladimirovna SEMENOVA. This interest is largely sparked by the fact that she has been handed one of the most critical and most difficult portfolios—the so-called women's question, or the women's movement. In carrying out the desires of our

readers, we requested a meeting with her. Speaking with G.V. Semenova was our special correspondent Lt Col S. Temirbiyev.

'Not a Little Bow on a Background of Democracy...'

[Temirbiyev] Galina Vladimirovna, please tell us about yourself; about your youth.

[Semenova] You might say that I grew up in a military camp. My father was a soldier. Our family, as it happens, went all over the world. We moved from city to city, garrison to garrison... The war found us in Minsk. I was just a little tyke then. On 21 June, the eve of the war, father did not come home from work... And on the 22nd the Germans bombarded the city. The very first day of the war brought a terrible tragedy to our family: Mama was giving birth to twins just as a bomb fell on them. By some miracle they managed to save Mama, but of course not the little ones... Grandmother dragged me from the rubble of the burning house... I saw my mother next in Smolensk, where we had relatives. And Father found us at the end of the war in Chelyabinsk. Well, after that we lived in Yaroslavl, Romania, Lvov...

[Temirbiyev] How did you come to journalism?

[Semenova] You know, perhaps this is the first time I have thought about how that came to pass. I knew that it would not be easy to study in Lvov: the majority of the subjects were in the Ukrainian language... But the desire to learn, and specifically in the School of Journalism, came to the forefront. I had an interest in people, in everything new. I had the desire to learn as much as possible. And what other profession provides one an opportunity to be introduced to how people live in our country, in the world? After I graduated from the university I began to work in Odessa on a youth newspaper. Lvov was academic and cold; but Odessa was a wide-open city, warm, with a sense of humor. No doubt this symbiosis was of help to me as a journalist. Then on to Moscow, once again to the youth press: I was chief editor of the magazine KOMSOMOLSKAYA ZHIZN. I learned a great deal as a graduate student in the philosophy department at the Academy of Social Sciences, and from working on the staff of the presidium of the Soviet Women's Committee. Next came KRESTYANKA, where I was editor for nearly ten years. These were years completely given over to the readers...

[Temirbiyev] Yes indeed, your credentials are truly solid. What have they provided you, personally?

[Semenova] All the best that journalism has taught me. Incidentally, I did not bypass a single stage in my profession. I started out as a stringer. I then worked as a writer, department chief, and executive secretary... I have been a party member since I was 27. Personally, I relate to the generation of the 60's. Do you remember? Instead of the personality cult—the cult of knowledge and science. Physics and lyric poetry. From faith—to

knowledge! A journalist trained in honorable dependence on the reader; I thought that this particular quality would be extremely useful in my new career.

[Temirbiyev] And were your hopes justified?

[Semenova] Yes. There is a direct analogy with my new position: it is also a relationship of dependence, but now it is to the entire people and not only to party members. The party has proclaimed itself an organization which protects the interests of the working people; one which consolidates the progressive forces. In first place are the people whom you serve. You forget about yourself, about your own prestige and ambitions. And—it is a magnificent responsibility...

[Temirbiyev] One never gets used to the scale of things. When you were editor of the magazine, there were more subscribers to KRESTYANKA than there were members of the CPSU...

[Semenova] But those are not comparable, neither to the degree of responsibility, nor to the level of decision-making. I rely very much on the support of the readers, including those of your magazine, wherever I am able to do more.

[Temirbiyev] You have probably asked yourself, "Why me?" Why indeed?

[Semenova] The party needed people to study women's problems on a professional level. From my own position and that of the magazine KRESTYANKA, common human values are the priority. Today this is demanded of both society and the party.

[Temirbiyev] Is it not hard for you on the Politburo, with the men?

[Semenova] Well, now that you ask I would ask a similar question of my own colleagues on the Politburo: Is it not hard for them with me? After all, I have only six months experience in party work...

No, it is not hard for me. I sense that we all hold the same views. And that is, that it is the individual that is important. On the whole, now is the time of the individual, and not a time to hide behind a screen, whether political or ideological...

[Temirbiyev] The first steps in what is for you a new and exceptionally responsible role...were probably not so much assuming a "new position," so much as a new life?

[Semenova] I looked over the materials from the party congress and the speeches of the women-delegates. I read the program documents of the recently-formed parties and movements as well. If only in a single line, every one contains requests and promises—to change the position of the women... I've held a great many meetings with people. And then the Central Committee Plenum gave birth to our Commission on Questions of Women and the Family. That is indeed a new life for me, and my main business. And we have approached the matter in a

new way on the organizational plane. There is no so-called women's department. We shall not resolve our problems if other departments of the Central Committee do not take them up as well. I am pleased that my colleagues understood me properly... Our Commission has a small staff, consisting of ten people: a political scientists, an economist, a sociologist... In addition to them, every Central Committee department will have a specialist occupied with questions of women and the family, in accordance with the profile of his own department. Thus there is opportunity to provide expert advice to all sorts of programs—from party resolutions to draft legislation. The main thing is not to encroach upon the interests of women or their families.

[Temirbiyev] Galina Vladimirovna, there already are structures that deal with women's questions: for example, the corresponding committee in the nation's Supreme Soviet. One might ask, why another one?

[Semenova] This is indeed one of the features of the revitalization of the party. More than half the population of the country consists of women, but until now there has not been a uniform policy on questions of the women's movement. Perhaps that is also why there has been no significant turning point in the view on the role of women in society. An attitude toward a woman as a "social invalid" is totally unacceptable. The damage to any society in which women have been put into second place is obvious. A complex of social measures protecting women, and a new policy which stipulates, for example, the nomination of women to positions of leadership, are required. Women in politics—is not only common sense, it also a guarantee against cruelty, and humanization in resolving any question. It is not a little bow on a background of democracy, and it is not diversity in the male corridor of power... A comprehensive state program on improving the position of women and the family has already been drawn up, for all practical purposes. It is an encyclopedia of women's problems, and that means society's problems. In the near future it will be introduced for discussion in the nation's parliament. We have been totally occupied with the rights of man, but the people with the fewest rights are—our women. The program contains a complex of questions: health-care, education, social security... It goes without saying, this concerns the wives of military servicemen as well. I know from first-hand experience how deserving they are...

[Temirbiyev] This feeling of "being secondary," or even "inferiority," is familiar to probably every soviet woman...

[Semenova] Yes, that is so: the most miserable maternity homes, night shifts, demeaning queues... Truly, every soviet woman has encountered these. But there is no simple, easy solution for it. Even if a state program is adopted. Before, we used to say that socialism would solve all our problems; now, it's the market...

[Temirbiyev] The market is no panacea against all ills.

[Semenova] It is no panacea. Moreover, the market inevitably introduces a number of specific social problems inherent in it. What do I think is the most important thing in connection with the shift to market relationships? Assistance to women to "enter the market" painlessly; concern for her in connection with the problem of employment which, of course will arise; and providing her the required amount of knowledge—both economic, and legal. And, with the aid of social defense measures, to provide her the opportunity to choose—her style and way of life, and her social role. Give her the best kind of combination of both roles—a laborer in production and the mistress of her home.

[Temirbiyev] But is choice really possible against the background of the want in which our women live?

[Semenova] That is, in fact, the issue... Here a great deal depends upon the woman herself. Today society must demand of her her talent "in order to make ends meet," and in our difficult times, that is important...

[Temirbiyev] Apparently the burst of businesslike activity in the women's movement is no accident?

[Semenova] Apart from the Committee on Soviet Women, which is now working very actively with business women, I see at least three directions.

The first is—women engaged in entrepreneurial activity. Take, for example, Yevgeniya Smetanikova, chairman of the board of "Women and Reality," a commercial-charitable organization. She has the entrepreneurial spirit, and is a mover. A second very active group is the Business Women's Club at the newspaper EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN. These are economists and enterprise administrators with a wealth of experience in economic activity. And there is a third group—the women in science, who are intellectualizing the women's movement.

[Temirbiyev] And in army life?

[Semenova] You know, not because you represent KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, that I was born and raised, as I've already said, in the family of a soldier, and for the sake of the truth I would include among the first five movers, Yulia Sokolova. Now there is an example of a person who shaped the environment of the military stations. We are associated not only in our service as deputies, but also by ties of friendship. I can recall how we established the first charitable fund for women at the magazine, which was known as Krestyanka as well. Yulia was among its founders... I could also name many other women whom I have met on business trips, and on the Committee for Soviet Women. These are selfless people, with a very clear-cut moral position.

'A Cure For Hatred'

[Temirbiyev] I recently read in PRAVDA a dialogue between two women who have suffered equally from

inter-ethnic enmity—an Azerbaijanian and an Armenian. Their words contain such sincerity and such unconcealed pain. Hatred, they affirm, demeans a society... What kind of contribution can women make in supporting peace in our home?

[Semenova] I know the women of whom you speak. Eleonora Shcherbanenko, editor of the women's section of PRAVDA, and I thought about how to help them. And Eleonora proposed holding a dialogue between them, and to invite the public to express its opinion. And so the conversation took place... I have here before me the results of sociological research: among the problems troubling women today, the inter-ethnic problems are in second place—after the socio-domestic problems. And that is understandable: the lives of their children and their dear ones, their future—could anything be more precious? A cure for hatred... Culture, or spirituality? Wisdom and the ability to listen to one another? But these prescriptions are, of course, not for all situations in life. The sobering must come. Encounters between people of different nationality and frank discussion of what troubles them—is one of the ways.

[Temirbiyev] I understand that you have attended meetings between the president of the USSR and cultural figures—those unique convocations of intellectuals. What is the main feeling you bring from these meetings?

[Semenova] Optimism. It may seem paradoxical, but that is so. Society is going through a critical time: ties are being broken, opinions abandoned... And still there is hope—for wisdom and human reason. And it is that wisdom that was the principal actor in the meetings.

I am confident that not only the reforms in the economy and transition to the market, but also the culture and intellectual life of the multinational peoples of our country will bring the people together and will strengthen the Union. No matter to which party a person belongs, no matter which views he professes, one can find the path to agreement, provided one's positions are grounded upon morality and culture.

[Temirbiyev] Your thoughts dovetail with what Academician D.S. Likhachev is saying today. In characterizing our great epoch, which we apparently do not sufficiently appreciate, Dmitriy Sergeyevich notes, that "in this epoch there are two things which will remain for millennia..."

[Semenova] Yes: freedom from fear and the liberation of culture. Liberating culture means to give man the opportunity to better understand the world and himself. The house of agreement must be built upon the priority of common human values.

[Temirbiyev] What is the role of the mass information media in building it?

[Semenova] You have touched upon a very painful question. At present the press is the target of much reproach. No, I do not believe that it has to be quieter, or

to be less critical. It's simply that there needs to be more responsibility for every word—this is one of the ABC's of our profession. I recall what my kind, wise mentor taught me, "If the benefit is doubtful, and if harm is possible—do not write it!" The great Avicenna (ibn-Sina) conducted the following experiment: He placed two lambs in cages. Before one was the familiar landscape of mountain slopes and flowering meadows; before the other was a cage with a wolf who devoured sheep all the time. After a few days the lamb forced to live with a wolf for a neighbor died... It is a parable, of course. But it has profound philosophical meaning. We have frightened the people, and have worn them out—the possibility of civil war, ecological catastrophe, famine. It is as if the television and the newspapers are competing with one another over who can add more fear to the mood of the public, which is already nervous and unstable. Waves of cynicism, fear and lack of faith are breaking over the young people—that is what is worst of all. They produce either apathy, or aggression.

[Temirbiyev] Certain of our readers, knowing of your journalistic past, are asking what is your impression of "600 Seconds," on Leningrad television?

[Semenova] There was a time when I was delighted with the professionalism of Aleksandr Nevzorov. I thought the program was a model of television journalism. But now at times it is starting to slide, like so many others on our TV screen.

On the whole, I would note: we talk a lot about the interests of man. But where is it, the humanity? Everything is excessively and at times forcibly politicized. In whose interests? Why, the press—the fourth estate. But this is not the estate of representatives of journalism with an exaggerated sense of self-importance! This is the estate of information, and facts.

[Temirbiyev] Another danger exists, to which the mass information media have the most direct relationship—the danger of implanting in the new life a totalitarian model of thinking.

[Semenova] Yes. In the past the people were almost totally disconnected from the political process, while today we observe the other extreme—mass politicization... I myself heard one tot in a sandbox cry at another, "Get away from the microphone. I haven't given you the floor!" Or the following example. A Group of our kids arrived in France. The TV commentator asked, "What would you like to talk about?" The French children replied, "Fairy tales;" ours, "We would like to talk about the problems of Eastern Europe..."

[Temirbiyev] The poor kids...

[Semenova] In our times it is not easy for grown-ups to deal with the changing stereotypes either. Before there was the unanimous "Long live!," but now it is "Down with!," "Down with the CPSU!"... On the whole, if someone does not like something, it's "Down with it!" It is as if we have forgotten what this deafening collective

negation turned into in our tragic past. Will there be another struggle with dissidents (only now with respect to communists)? Will there be propaganda campaigns again?

[Temirbiyev] Under a multi-party state, one cannot ban criticism aimed at one of the parties.

[Semenova] There can be no talk of bans. Today those forces in the party who want to put the democratic movement "in its place" are doomed. But the efforts of those trying to drive the party from the political arena are doomed as well.

Today we are all living with a sense of alarm. It is difficult to overcome the obstacles to agreement among parliaments, and among the numerous sovereignties, and among the people. Disputes rage, passions seethe, and platforms are discussed. Emotions and the heat of political meetings are carried to excess. But a taste for the unhurried operation of ideas is thus far lacking. To a large extent this is a lack of political culture. Educated people are calm. The educated people will not attribute the crimes of the monsters who came to the leadership of the party in the tragic years of our history to the entire party, to the communists who through all these years retained both their honor and their dignity...

Or take for example the speeches of certain public figures against service in the army. Not an abstract "against," but a concrete "for"—that is a more logical way to put the question, it seems to me: for the social defense of military servicemen, for human dignity, for the peace of mind of their mothers, and for the specific measures that would provide this peace...

[Temirbiyev] Galina Vladimirovna, speaking about the problems of military servicemen, their legal and social defenselessness, and their lack of domestic facilities, we often forget about how this reflects on their wives...

[Semenova] Of course, a woman always suffers not only for herself, but for her family and her husband. She is more vulnerable and her feelings are more intense, and more tender. And because of this it is harder for her. We forget about the individuality of a woman. I remember that Father was often unable to call home and warn us that he would be detained. He was a regimental commander and spent nearly half of his service time on the training ground [poligon]; for Mother, the word "poligon" meant loss of sleep and peacefulness. It was good that it was possible to run to her neighbor and cry with her. These, you see, were the 1950's; Lvov. Officers would walk around with their weapons... Where is my husband? How is he? Mother brought us up, and oh how much hard work and spiritual strength that required! And so I understand your question and I know what I am talking about.

[Temirbiyev] There was once, and is now, a stereotype of the "officer's wife"...

[Semenova] It always upsets me when this is uttered with irony. Look, they say, at the petty bourgeois, sitting at home... Of course there were and there are wives with a distorted view of being a wife. But you see, the blame for that lies in the surroundings, and the conditions... They are forced to live away from the centers of culture, which would raise them even slightly out of their daily routine, and this makes itself known. Here too one cannot but say a kind word about the work of the women's council. The women's council is not only an opportunity to get together, but also to help. This is often the only center of spirituality... You know, I recently had an idea: in this work on the revival of spirituality in the Army, it would be well to combine the energies of the women's soviets and the democracy of the Officers' Calls. I am deeply convinced that only there would the women's movement "find" success, where it could combine with the civic movement which represents the males as well.

[Temirbiyev] As I understand it, you are advocating making the labor of parents and families the equal of social work...

[Semenova] A mother's labor is splendid labor even under ordinary conditions, if we can call our conditions that. But what can one say then about the maternal and family work of the wives of military servicemen, and by what terms can one measure it? Of course, the very highest. One should only give honor to such labor...

'Every Letter is a Cry for Help'

[Temirbiyev] Galina Vladimirovna, do you get many letters from the wives of military servicemen?

[Semenova] Very many. I want to say that I am well aware of the problems facing the army in general today and the wives of the servicemen in particular. The apartment problem, job placement, the catastrophic lack of kindergartens and nurseries, and the multitude of purely domestic problems—all these things make the life of the wives of military servicemen at times simply unbearable. The military leadership, so far as I know, is doing what it can in the localities, but how much can it do without the help of society? I know, for example, that right now in Moscow there are more than 10,000 families of military servicemen who have no apartment. Thousands of families are returning from the groups of forces... My mail contains many letters on this topic. Here, if you please, is one of them.

Esteemed Galina Vladimirovna!

...We are very worried about what will happen to us after the hasty troop withdrawal. Most of the people living in the garrison have no place to live in the Motherland, and our husbands are going to their places of deployment without their families. But where are we, with our children, to go?

We are forced to go to our elderly relatives for an indefinite period, but what are those people who have none to do? Moreover, many of our relatives—and more

likely, most of them—could hardly find living space for two or three more people. And why should we be forced, after serving the greater part of our lives, to assume the status of refugees and seek asylum for ourselves with our parents or relatives?..

—the Garrison Women's Soviets

[Temirbiyev] Galina Vladimirovna, many people who have suffered from inter-ethnic conflicts look for protection and help from their own state, and from the army. At the same time it often happens that the boys with the epaulettes—Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians—turn out to be hostage to similar situations... What do you think of this—both as a Russian woman, as a mother and as a state and public figure?

[Semenova] The stressful situation in which a young man finds himself—testimony to the inter-ethnic conflict—has a long reverberating echo. This is not forgotten and the scars remain on one's soul. Any comparison is "lame," but I think that children experience just about the same feelings upon the divorce of their parents. They absorb negative emotions, and suffer unbelievably from the psychological consequences of the situation...

The boys should not be, as you put it, "hostages" to such situations. But if the conflict threatens the lives of the people? Help must come from the internal troops in accordance with the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Temirbiyev] You have already mentioned the fact that today there are people who advocate that their sons not serve in the army. This movement is growing every day...

[Semenova] Here one must seek answers to the question: "Why?" I met recently with representatives of the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers. We spoke at great length about the conditions of military service, and about the fact that under no circumstances should violence be used on a person, nor should humiliation. Refusal to serve in the army is an extreme act. The requirement to maintain order and to create normal conditions for a soldier's service is a vital necessity. I think that if military reform guarantees a soldier social and legal protection and regular leave; if it gives a mother an opportunity to go to her son, and to become acquainted with how he is serving, where he sleeps, what he eats, who is around him, then the problem will not be as acute. But today, when representatives of women's social organizations want to visit a military unit, certain commanders quite often refuse them. What is the problem here—a lack of understanding, warmth, culture?

[Temirbiyev] Probably, flexibility too.

[Semenova] You are absolutely right! This is after all, politically short-sighted as well, since it does not work for the prestige of the army.

[Temirbiyev] Demands for the de-politization of the army are becoming increasingly loud. I think that de-politization of the army is—nonsense. It is another matter, that the officers belong to the party...

[Semenova] You already know my opinion about the "democratic" intolerance of dissidence. A person has the right to belong to a party whose position he shares, and to support it in his deeds. The Law on Social Associations, adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, puts everything in its place. It is altogether unacceptable that membership in a party becomes or can become a detriment to one's profession. This is a violation of a person's right to profess one political view or another.

[Temirbiyev] Incidentally, concerning views... Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn asserts that all that has taken place in our country is the essence of Marxism-Leninism. M. Shatrov, the well-known dramatist, thinks otherwise: that our present reality is the terrible and tragic distortion of the essence of Marxist teachings... Which of these points of view is closer to yours?

[Semenova] I take a cautious attitude toward polar judgements. Marxism was not born from nothing. It arose on a base of the highest humanistic traditions. It has deep roots, reaching to the depths of human culture. The basis of socialist ideas are common human values and the ideals of justice, which are of a permanent nature. Mistakes in the realization of a specific model of socialism is not proof that the theory is fallacious. Incidentally, certain of the tenets and conclusions of the theory cannot be mechanically removed to our time. There are truths which are immutable; and there are truths which are changed by life...

[Temirbiyev] Do you personally relate to the right or to the left?

[Semenova] Do you have in mind "right" and "left" in the true meaning, or in the inverted meaning, in which they are often used today?

[Temirbiyev] In connection with the real political life of society.

[Semenova] The concept which lies at the basis of the party's program documents is dear to me. The most important thing is man and common human values. And a real person, it seems to me, cannot cling to only one definite term on all positions: plus or minus, left or right. I can share the position of the left on one question and not on another; and the other way around.

[Temirbiyev] For example?

[Semenova] In everything that concerns the economic transformations, I am a reformer-centrist. Before you blow up the old house in order to put a new one in its place, you have to verify 100 times, whether your calculations are accurate: whether the debris will fall on people; and whether they will be hurt by the blast... A new house must be built; there is no choice. And soon.

Otherwise the old one will fall down by itself. But all calculations must be made beforehand.

But, let's say, on a question such as rights for military servicemen, I am a genuine radical. We must draw up and adopt the appropriate legislative acts on defense and the social protection of military servicemen and their families as soon as possible. Incidentally, the letters from soldiers' wives very often demand speeding up the adoption of military reform. I am glad that the soldiers' mothers' movement, which is in some cases maximalist, has borne fruit. You are aware that an ukaze of the President of the USSR was adopted on this account, which contains specific measures for implementing the proposals of the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers. I, for example, am a conservative in things that concern the upbringing of our children. I am decisively opposed to videos and discotheques in their present form, without control on the part of adults, the schools and society. There are legal norms, approbations, that are altogether civilized. We must erect a barricade in the path of the turbid stream of *beskulturya* [lack of culture] that is pouring into our country. Even in the West they are saying that it is fine that you have made a hole in the iron curtain, but why at the level of the basement?

[Temirbiyev] Galina Vladimirovna, how did you decide to leave your beloved work? What moved you to do so? Was it, perhaps, unrealized ambition?

[Semenova] God forbid! You understand, my journalistic work experience with people's complaints did not, unfortunately, always produce results; the experience of criticism of the behavior of the higher-ups with respect to women; criticism of existing "women's" programs, that... Well, and then there was my party responsibility, of course. In any event I was entrusted with such responsible work, and at such a difficult period for the country, and for the party... I hope and I trust that I will succeed in helping women. Although, alas, I am already forced to conclude that to speak and write about problems is much easier than to solve them...

[Temirbiyev] Is there any time left for you to read for your soul? Who are your favorite authors?

[Semenova] There is practically no time. And do not be surprised at the selections in my literary affections. I love Chekhov. That is the philosophy of man. I like Simonov; he has great respect for the military man—from soldier to marshal. He wrote about the spiritual nature of the military man, about chivalry—those are the qualities which women long for today. I love to re-read Elza Triolet—she understands the female soul. Yulian Semenov is always disquieting and stimulating. Not so much the critical nature of his topics, but his capacity for bringing to a critical topic the depth of thought, commentary, and the civic virtues—his journalistic method, in essence.

[Temirbiyev] By what values are you guided? What position does love occupy among them—on a philosophical and personal plane?

[Semenova] By common human values. Life. The family. And love—in first place. Both on the philosophical and personal plane. I often think about Kustodiev. If he saw that the work of his student was unsuccessful, he would not do a profound analysis of its technical imperfections; he would say, "Not enough love!" I think that any matter, from the minute to the grandiose, succeeds if love is there—for that matter, for one's dear ones, for one's home, and for one's Fatherland!..

[Temirbiyev] Among the letters you receive, is there anything unexpected?

[Semenova] It happens. And I need not go far for examples. (Takes a letter from the table.) It seems that somehow he was attracted to me, M.F. Tipitsyn, the author of the letter, since he wrote: "It seems to me that you can be above the personal benefits which this high party responsibility provides. After all, someone in the Politburo must begin to understand the mood of that part of the people which at any moment finds itself not "near" but "beyond" the poverty line... I urgently request that you do not become occupied with improving your living space. After all, many people are indignant when they read about the officials of the party apparat who, 'when changing offices' right away receive 100 square meters for a family of three. You could not conceive of anything more damaging to the prestige of the party."

And this is that kind of letter. How painful it was to read it! You see, the people have formed a fixed stereotype of the party apparatchik—a careerist, grasping with both hands for privileges. He is from days-gone-by, that type! There is no place for him in the life of today. And it is annoying that these very traits of the party of yesterday are typified today. I would like to reassure Comrade Tipitsyn: I have no privileges whatsoever, neither a guard nor a long limousine. I have the same kind of car as I did on KRESTYANKA, for business trips... And the two-room apartment which I received while working at the editorial office, and where I still live with my husband and Mama, and I have no intention of changing.

[Temirbiyev] The holiday you always think about—is...

[Semenova] My little grandson. Only you see, we see one another less often now than I would like.

[Temirbiyev] Galina Vladimirovna, for the women readers of our magazine you are not only an example to be emulated, a sincere and wise interlocutor; they also expect moral support from you—for we are living in such a difficult time, and so many problems have fallen in the paths of our women, that at times they lose their way, and fall into depression. What would you like to wish for them?

[Semenova] Happiness, of course. According to Dal's [dictionary], happiness [*schast'e*] is something to be shared [*so-chastie*]. It is like a little bridge between people, or between a person and his business... A little

bridge which a person builds with his own hands. In our difficult and bitter times, happiness is still possible. It is found in love, in the health well-being of one's dear ones, in the ability to find and keep friends... The main thing is not to lose faith in one another, in what is human in a person.

[Temirbiyev] Thank you for the conversation.

Footnote

* Sokolova, Yuliya Yuryevna, people's deputy of the USSR from the women's councils, united under the Committee of Soviet Women; member of the USSR Supreme Soviet—the Committee on Questions of Glasnost, Rights and Appeals. For a long time she worked as senior instructor for working among the families of military servicemen at the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy.

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New Writers Group on Military Themes

91UM0548A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
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[Interview with Yu.A. Vinogradov, president of the All-Union Association of Military Writers, secretary of the board of the RSFSR Union of Writers, by Major I. Yadykin: "The Poetry of Exploits and Duty. All-Union Association of Military Writers Created"; place and date not given]

[Text] The various groups, associations, and movements will not surprise anybody today. Many of them, having begun their activity with a great stir, have somehow disappeared unnoticed from the arena of public attention. But still the creation of the all-Union association of writers on the subjects of ground and sea battles, whose charter has been registered in the USSR Ministry of Justice, could not but draw our attention. What brought about the creation of such an association, what are its main goals and program, and will it survive? With these questions I began a conversation with the association's president, retired Colonel Yu.A. Vinogradov, secretary of the board of the RSFSR Union of writers, honored cultural worker of the RSFSR, candidate of historical sciences.

[Vinogradov] Domestic literature beginning with the "The Song of Igor's Campaign" has always and still does engender in people, especially young people, a love for their native land and people and fidelity to the cause of serving their homeland. But recently the attitude toward the military in official literary organizations and press organs has become, shall we say, cool. Writers who take up the subject of feats of arms are considered almost reactionary and it is not easy for talented young writers of books on the Army and Navy to get into the Union of Writers. The USSR Union of Writers has no special

publications which will publish works of a heroic patriotic orientation such as, say, ZNAMYA was in the prewar years. It was the publication established by LOKAF—the Literary Association of the Red Army and Navy.

Under these conditions there was an objective need to create in the system of the USSR Union of Writers a unified center with a heroic-patriotic orientation in literature. Our association is intended to be such a center. Its founders are the USSR Union of Writers and the Unions of Writers of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan in conjunction with the Ministry of Defense and the Main Military and Political Directorate of the USSR Armed Forces, the USSR KGB, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministries of the Maritime Fleet and the Fishing Industry of the USSR, the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] Central Committee, the DOSAAF [All-Union Voluntary Society for Assistance to the USSR Army, Navy, and Air Force], the Soviet Committee of War Veterans, and a number of other organizations. The founders included also the USSR Ministry of Defense Publishing House, the Patriot and Granitsa publishing houses, and the magazines SOVETSKIY VOIN, POGRANICHNIK, and NA BOY-EVOM POSTU.

[Yadykin] What specific work will be done by the association in order to achieve its proclaimed goals?

[Vinogradov] We will strive to provide normal conditions for creative work for all members of the association, to protect their authorial rights, to create the most favorable conditions for them when publishing artistic works, and to publish the best of them in our literary and artistic publications.

Creative competitions will occupy an important place in the work. We are establishing an annual bonus in the amount of 8,000 rubles [R] for especially significant works with heroic-patriotic themes. We will send writers on creative trips to military units and ships.

The association considers its most immediate task to be the creation of its own press organs—a monthly literary-artistic journal (in conjunction with the USSR Union of Writers) and a sociopolitical weekly (in conjunction with the USSR Ministry of Defense).

All this requires the creation of our own publishing and printing complex, which will work in close interaction with the Military Publishing House of the USSR Ministry of Defense, the Patriot and Granitsa publishing houses, the autonomously financed creative associations Otechestvo, Muzhestvo, Veteran, KIML (Commercial Publishing House of Moscow Literature), and others. First of all we intend to publish jointly the most popular series "Military Adventures" and "Naval Adventures" and we will publish a series of books that have been awarded the medal imeni A. Fadeyev and the prize imeni K. Simonov and that have earned the literary prize of the association itself. Special attention will be devoted

to creating, in conjunction with the USSR Ministry of Defense, a new and modern "Officer's Library" analogous to the publications of prewar years.

It is also planned to restore the Modern Military Drama Studio and to create the Patriot studio of artistic and documentary films, which could operate on the basis of the movie studio of the USSR Ministry of Defense. There are concrete plans to create literary, cultural-educational, social, and entertainment programs for radio and television.

[Yadykin] In light of such rich prospects one automatically wonders: Who may become a member of this association?

[Vinogradov] In keeping with the association's charter, its members may be professional writers and young literary people and also workers of literary and artistic publishing houses and journals that are among the founders of the association. Admissions will be made by the board with subsequent approval by the association's council.

A most important area of the association's activity will be work with young literary people, especially those serving in the military. Permanent creative seminars conducted once every two years will be created for them. Participants will be selected for these seminars through a network of literary associations of military and departmental newspapers and cultural and educational institutions. The leaders of the creative seminars may recommend the most gifted and promising young students of literature for acceptance as members of the USSR Union of Writers. Stipends will be established for the periods during which they are working and one-time monetary grants will be paid. Finally, taking into account the special difficulties young poets have in publishing under market conditions, we plan to publish small collections of poetry.

[Yadykin] And the last question. In the first paragraph of your association's charter it says that it is being created as "...a public association that is independent of political parties." Is this a concession to the currently fashionable trend toward de-party-ization or is it an expression of a desire for freedom of creativity?

[Vinogradov] I will answer briefly. With all the differences in views that undoubtedly exist in any creative organization, we are united by one thing. Our ideology—patriotism and true internationalism, and our policy is to serve the homeland.

Moscow Islamic Parties Described

91US0511A Moscow GLASNOST in Russian No 18,
1 May 91 p 4

[Article by Candidate of History V. Alekseyev: "Islamic Parties in the USSR"]

[Text] People in our city are saying that a Moslem party has been created in Moscow. Who are its leaders, and

what is the clergy's view of it? Where do its organizations operate, and do the authorities support them?—R. Amirov and K. Shaykhraiyev, Astrakhan.

It's hard to say exactly what party the letter-writers are asking about, because chapters and the leading nucleus of two Islamic parties are operating in Moscow and several other cities as of now. They are the Islamic Revival Party (IRP) and the Islamic Democratic Party.

The first calls itself an all-union party, although it is registered at only one level of government—Moscow's Oktyabr Rayon Soviet, which is headed by Ilya Zaslavskiy, a leader of Democratic Russia. Incidentally, the founding congress of the Islamic Revival Party was held in Astrakhan in June of last year, although preparations for the congress were made in Moscow. It brought together a small number of delegates from Central Asia, the North Caucasus, and the European part of Russia.

According to IRP leader Akhmed-kadi Akhtayev, who is an Avar, the party has nearly 20,000 members. In the view of specialists, this number is overstated. Its membership consists primarily of representatives of the intelligentsia of peoples that have professed Islam since ancient times. Although the party leadership allows women to become members, the overwhelming majority of the party's members are men, most of them "ethnic Moslems," as the IRP leadership puts it.

The party is trying to publish a newspaper known as ALVAKHDAT (Unity). It sees its chief task as that of enabling every Moslem to live in accordance with his religious convictions. The IRP leadership says that the party favors the economic and political integrity of the USSR. This idea is also supported by local authorities in areas where it is trying to establish its activities, mainly in the North Caucasus and Central Asia. Nevertheless, in most cases the authorities take a negative view of the IRP. The latter have expressed fears that the party will struggle to create models of a theocratic Islamic state system in those republics and promote Islamic fundamentalist values. In Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, the operation of IRP chapters has been banned by decision of top government bodies.

In most cases, the clergy takes a negative view of the question of its membership in this party. In this regard, Imam R. Gaynutdinov of the Moscow mosque observed that the IRP was created by fundamentalists "who utterly reject clergymen registered with government bodies, refuse to recognize officially operating religious organizations, and charge the clergy with cooperating with the authorities." Islamic judge Khadzhi Akbar Guradzhonzod, the leader of Tajikistan's Moslems, declared: "I am categorically opposed to the clergy's becoming involved in partisan political activity under the banner of Islam and against its membership in parties whose names include the word 'Islamic.'"

As for the other party—the Islamic Democratic Party, it has yet to be registered anywhere, although it held its founding congress in Makhachkala not too long ago. Its chairman, A. Saidov, a young doctor who graduated from Moscow Medical Institute No. 1 and also did his clinical studies there, decided to “revive Islamic values” in the land of his ancestors, where the feats of the legendary Shamil, who advocated the purity of the “green banner of the prophet Mohammed,” are still remembered well. This party has even fewer members

than the IRP. The clergy doesn’t actively participate in its activities either. A. Saidov and his entourage also refuse to cooperate with the authorities of Dagestan, saying that they favor the “consolidation of antitotalitarian, anticommunist forces,” although they also oppose the incitement of interethnic hatred.

It should be pointed out that thus far, neither party has taken any concrete steps aimed at resolving the crisis engulfing society.

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